AFRICA, No. 6 (1897).

PAPERS

RELATING TO THE

MASSACRE OF BRITISH OFFICIALS NEAR BENIN,

AND THE

CONSEQUENT PUNITIVE EXPEDITION.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.
August 1897.

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Papers relating to the Massacre of British Officials near Benin, and the consequent Punitive Expedition.

No. 1.

Mr. Child (late R.N.), commanding "Ivy," to the Crown Agents for the Colonies.—(Received at Foreign Office, January 10.)

(Telegraphic.) *Bonny, January 10, 1897.*

VERY sorry to inform you Phillips, Boisragon, Maling, Crawford, Locke, Campbell, Elliott, agents Powis and Gordon, started from Gwater Jacesser 8 A.M. [for] Benin city unarmed, no escort, 250 Jakri and Kroo carriers. Fired on [at] 4 P.M. by order of King of Benin. Up to the present seven carriers escaped; remainder expedition reported to be killed. Cockburn, Lyon, Burrows, [and] seventy Sapele troops [at] Benin Consulate, but action has been deferred, trusting clemency of King to possible survivors. There is very little hope. Communication [with] Benin city stopped. King's people in force Gwato. First news disaster received Sapele 7th. Believe troops available 200. Gallwey at Isokpo above Degema with troops. I will leave immediately for Old Calabar, returning immediately Bonny.

Waiting instructions.

No. 2.

Mr. Harrison to Consul-General Moor.—(Received at Foreign Office, January 11.)

(Telegraphic.) *Brass, January 10, 1897.*

RECEIVED following 8 this morning:—

"Benin expedition, which started 2nd January, captured. Reported killed: Phillips, Crawford, Maling, Locke, Boisragon, Elliott, Campbell, Travers, Gordon, and Powis. Have cabled Gallwey and 'Britannia.'—BURROWS [District Officer, Benin Post]."

No. 3.

Rear-Admiral Rawson to Admiralty.—(Communicated by Admiralty, January 11.)

(Telegraphic.) *Cape of Good Hope Station, January 11, 1897.*

FOLLOWING telegram received from Brass:—

"Acting Consul-General, Protectorate, and eight whites captured in Benin expedition, and reported killed. Send gun-boat, District Commissioner, Sapele. Have you received any intimation? 'Widgeon' and 'Alecto' have been ordered by telegraph to proceed to Benin River; 'Phœbe,' to Brass River. I am ready to go in 'St. George' at early opportunity."

No. 4.

Foreign Office to Admiralty.

Sir, *Foreign Office, January 11, 1897.*

I AM directed by the Marquess of Salisbury to transmit to you copies of telegrams, as marked in the margin,* respecting the reported massacre of an unarmed expedition on its way to Benin city, under the conduct of Mr. Phillips, the Acting British Commissioner and Consul-General for the Niger Coast Protectorate.

* Nos. 1 and 2.

I am to request that, in laying these telegrams before the Lords Commissioners, you will state that Lord Salisbury would be glad to learn what naval force is available on the station, and whether one or more gun-boats could be sent at once to Benin River to afford any assistance which may be immediately required, and wait instructions as to further action.

I am, &c.
(Signed) FRANCIS BERTIE.

No. 5.

Admiralty to Foreign Office.—(*Received January* 11.)

Sir, *Admiralty, January* 11, 1897.

WITH reference to your letter of this day's date, inclosing copies of telegrams respecting the reported massacre of an unarmed expedition on its way to Benin city, under the conduct of the Acting British Commissioner and Consul-General for the Niger Coast Protectorate, I am commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to request you will inform the Secretary of State that, as stated in the telegram of this day's date from the Commander-in-chief on the Cape of Good Hope Station, Her Majesty's ships "Widgeon" and "Alecto" have been ordered by telegraph to proceed to Benin River and Her Majesty's ship "Phœbe" to Brass River.

I am to add that Rear-Admiral Rawson can be directed to proceed in Her Majesty's ship "St. George" to the West Coast if Lord Salisbury so desires.

I am, &c.
(Signed) EVAN MACGREGOR.

No. 6.

The Marquess of Salisbury to Mr. Harcourt.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, January* 11, 1897.

YOU should take charge until the return of Captain Gallwey. Pending instructions, you should act strictly on the defensive in Benin.

No. 7.

Mr. Murray to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(*Received January* 12.)

(Telegraphic.) *Bonny, January* 12, 1897.

HARCOURT with Gallwey both expected 15th. Your instructions communicated. Searle with some troops waiting Gallwey here.

No. 8.

Royal Niger Company to Foreign Office.—(*Received January* 12.)

Surrey House, Victoria Embankment, London,
Sir, *January* 12, 1897.

I AM directed by the Deputy-Governor and Council to inclose copy of a cablegram received to-day by Reuter's Agency from the Niger Territories. They are desirous that the urgent and immediate attention of the Marquess of Salisbury should be drawn to the contents of this cablegram.

I am, &c.
(Signed) HENRY MORLEY, *Secretary.*

Inclosure in No. 8.

Cablegram received by Reuter's Agency, January 12, 1897.

LARGE proportion company Hausa troops stationed in delta, owing rumours of renewed invasion from Niger Coast Protectorate, which cannot control Brass tribe unless British Government send gun-boats there.

No. 9.

Foreign Office to War Office.

Sir, *Foreign Office, January* 12, 1897.

I AM directed by the Marquess of Salisbury to transmit to you, to be laid before the Marquess of Lansdowne, copies of telegrams* reporting that an unarmed party of officers of the Niger Coast Protectorate have been captured and probably murdered by the King of Benin.

It will be observed that Captain A. M. Boisragon, Royal Irish Regiment, Commander of the Niger Coast Constabulary, and Lieutenant A. I. Maling, 16th Lancers, wing officer in the same force, were among the party.

It may not improbably become necessary, in consequence, to send an expedition to Benin, but in any case it is important that two officers with experience of native warfare should be sent at once to replace temporarily those believed to be killed, and I am to request that you will suggest to Lord Lansdowne that a field officer should be selected for the temporary command of the constabulary force, and another officer of subaltern rank should be chosen in the place of Lieutenant Maling.

The officers selected should start on Saturday next, the 16th instant.

I am, &c.

(Signed) FRANCIS BERTIE.

No. 10.

Foreign Office to Admiralty.

Sir, *Foreign Office, January* 12, 1897.

I HAVE laid before the Marquess of Salisbury your letter of yesterday's date respecting the measures to be taken in connection with the reported massacre of British officials in Benin territory, and I am to inform you, in reply, that his Lordship would be glad to learn whether, in the opinion of the Lords Commissioners, the force which could be landed from Her Majesty's ships "Widgeon," "Alecto," and "Phœbe," now on their way to the coast, will be sufficient for any operations likely to be necessary, or whether it will be advisable to supplement it by a force from Her Majesty's ship "St. George."

Mr. Moor, Her Majesty's Commissioner and Consul-General, who is now in this country, leaves on Saturday, but cannot reach the Protectorate till the end of the first week in February. It would, therefore, seem to be sufficient that, in the event of his presence being considered necessary and of its being possible to spare the flag-ship from the East Coast, Admiral Rawson should be off the rivers by that time.

I am, &c.

(Signed) FRANCIS BERTIE.

No. 11.

The Marquess of Salisbury to Mr. Murray.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, January* 12, 1897.

HAVE any details been received of Benin affair beyond those contained in Mr. Child's telegram of 10th to Crown Agents? Is post at Sapele still held? If so, by what force? Have any more survivors returned? Keep us fully informed.

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* Nos. 1 and 2.

No. 12.

War Office to Foreign Office.—(*Received January* 13.)

Sir, *War Office, January* 13, 1897.

I AM directed by the Secretary of State for War to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 12th instant, and to acquaint you in reply, for the information of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, that the Marquess of Lansdowne has selected Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel B. M. Hamilton, East Yorkshire Regiment, and Captain H. S. Walker, Scottish Rifles, to proceed to the Niger Coast Protectorate, and these officers have been directed to place themselves in communication with your Department.

I am, &c.
(Signed) ARTHUR L. HALIBURTON.

No. 13.

Admiralty to Foreign Office.—(*Received January* 13.)

Sir, *Admiralty, January* 13, 1897.

WITH reference to your letter of the 12th instant, and to former correspondence respecting the measures to be taken in connection with the reported massacre of British officials in Benin territory, I am commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to request that you will state to the Marquess of Salisbury that they have not sufficient data as to the nature of the country to be traversed, or of the force required to insure a successful result to a punitive expedition against the King of Benin; but they propose to consult the War Office on the subject, and a further communication will be made.

In the meantime, the Commander-in-chief has been directed to proceed to the locality with dispatch, and await orders.

I am, &c.
(Signed) EVAN MACGREGOR.

No. 14.

Mr. Murray to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(*Received January* 13.)

(Telegraphic.) *Bonny, January* 13, 1897.

NO details received here beyond those already communicated. Post at Sapele not threatened. Seventy troops in Benin river. No further information regarding survivors received here. "Widgeon," "Ivy," 5 officers, 130 men, Niger Coast Protectorate force here awaiting Gallwey.

No. 15.

The Marquess of Salisbury to Mr. Murray.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, January* 13, 1897.

COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF directed to proceed at once to Oil Rivers.

No. 16.

Foreign Office to War Office.

Sir, *Foreign Office, January* 14, 1897.

I AM directed by the Marquess of Salisbury to state to you, for the information of the Secretary of State for War, that a telegram has been received from the Niger Territories by the Royal Niger Company, and communicated to his Lordship, stating that a large proportion of the Company's troops are detained in

the Delta owing to the fear of an attack from natives of the Niger Coast Protectorate, and an urgent appeal has been made by the Deputy-Governor for assistance from Her Majesty's Government.

Although Lord Salisbury has no special reason for sharing the fears of the Company, he feels that, whilst it is engaged on the operations against Nupé, the natives of the river might be tempted to rise, if the Niger Coast Protectorate forces were also to be moved for service against Benin, without some precautions being taken to leave a sufficient force in the Niger to prevent disturbances. He would therefore propose to the Secretary of State for War that 100 men of the West India Regiment should be sent down from Sierra Leone to hold the River Delta, fifty of whom should be stationed at Akassa, and fifty at Sabagreya, so long as the Company's forces are wanted to the north, or for such time as may be requisite.

If Lord Lansdowne concurs in this proposal, the troops could be fetched from Sierra Leone by the Protectorate yacht "Ivy," a vessel of 870 tons, with a speed of 13 knots, and designed to carry troops from one part of the Protectorate to another. She is now at Bonny, with which place there is telegraphic communication, awaiting instructions. On the arrival of the force in the Niger, the Company's troops would be released for duty above Lukoja.

I am, &c.
(Signed) FRANCIS BERTIE.

No. 17.

Foreign Office to War Office.

Sir, *Foreign Office, January* 14, 1897.

I LAID before the Marquess of Salisbury your letter of the 13th instant, stating that Brigadier Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton and Captain Walker have been selected to proceed to the Niger Coast Protectorate, and I am directed by his Lordship to state, for the information of the Marquess of Lansdowne, that these officers should start on the 16th instant, and that Colonel Hamilton should concert with Mr. Moor, Her Majesty's Commissioner and Consul-General, and with the Senior Naval Officer on the coast, the measures necessary for the conduct of an expedition against the King of Benin with the object of rescuing any possible survivors of the late disaster, punishing the King for the attack on the party, and permanently occupying the town and district of Benin by a force of the Protectorate constabulary.

I am, &c.
(Signed) FRANCIS BERTIE.

No. 18.

Foreign Office to Admiralty.

Sir, *Foreign Office, January* 14, 1897.

I HAVE laid before the Marquess of Salisbury your letter of the 13th instant, stating that the Commander-in-chief has been directed to proceed with dispatch to the neighbourhood of the Benin River, and I am directed by his Lordship to state, for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that he has received a letter from the Royal Niger Company expressing their fears that the natives of Brass may take advantage of the absence of the main body of the Company's forces from the Lower Niger to repeat an attack on the Company's Territories.

I am therefore to inquire whether one of the gun-boats which has also been ordered to the Niger Coast Protectorate could visit Brass at frequent intervals during her stay off the coast in order to be able to support the Protectorate forces if required.

I am, &c.
(Signed) FRANCIS BERTIE.

No. 19.

Foreign Office to Admiralty.

Sir, *Foreign Office, January* 14, 1897.

WITH reference to my letter of to-day's date, I am directed by the Marquess of Salisbury to state to you, for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that it is considered by Her Majesty's Commissioner and Consul-General for the Niger Coast Protectorate and by Colonel Hamilton, who has been selected by the Secretary of State for War to take temporary command of the Protectorate troops, that the expedition to Benin city should consist of 250 men of that force with 250 officers and men of the Royal Navy and Marines, and I am to inquire whether the Lords Commissioners will be prepared to furnish the latter from Her Majesty's ships which have been ordered to the scene of action.

Copies of correspondence with the War Office in regard to the expedition are inclosed, for their Lordships' information.*

I am, &c.
(Signed) FRANCIS BERTIE.

No. 20.

Foreign Office to War Office.

Sir, *Foreign Office, January* 14, 1897.

WITH reference to my letter of the 14th instant, relating to the employment of Colonel Hamilton and Captain Walker in the Niger Coast Protectorate, I am directed by the Marquess of Salisbury to request that you will state to the Secretary of State for War that one additional special service officer of the rank of Captain, and one transport officer with experience of native carriers, should be attached to the Benin expedition; and I am to request that, if he sees no objection, he will put two officers under orders for the purpose, to start on the 16th instant.

I am, &c.
(Signed) FRANCIS BERTIE.

No. 21.

The Marquess of Salisbury to Mr. Harrison.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, January* 14, 1897.

THE Niger Company are afraid of being attacked by the Brassmen. Is alarm justified by anything that has occurred?

No. 22.

Mr. Harrison to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(Received January 14.)

(Telegraphic.) *Brass, January* 14, 1897.

I AM not aware of any reason by which alarm would be justified.

No. 23.

Mr. Murray to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(Received January 14.)

(Telegraphic.) *Bonny, January* 14, 1897.

JUST received following from Brass:—

Boisragon and Locke saved. No hope for remainder.

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* Nos. 9, 12, and 17.

No. 24.

The Marquess of Salisbury to Captain Gallwey.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, January* 14, 1897.

THE services of the "Ivy" will probably be wanted to bring troops from Sierra Leone. Those who are now on board should be landed in Western Division, if not elsewhere required that local disturbances may be prevented. Moor proposes Warri, but the question is left to your discretion. If you require to move about during the absence of the "Ivy" you should apply to Senior Naval Officer for gun-boat.

No. 25.

The Marquess of Salisbury to Captain Gallwey.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, January* 14, 1897.

MOOR leaves on the 16th on "Bathurst" with following officers:—

Colonel Hamilton, to take command Protectorate forces; three special service officers; two new Assistant District Commissioners; Koe, Allman, Hennessey, Whitehouse, Clive Bayley, Morgan.

No. 26.

War Office to Foreign Office.—(Received January 15.)

Sir, *War Office, January* 15, 1897.

I AM directed by the Secretary of State for War to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 14th instant, and to acquaint you, in reply, for the information of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, that the Marquess of Lansdowne has selected Major F. W. B. Landon, Army Service Corps, and Lieutenant R. A. P. O'Shee, Royal Engineers, for employment as additional officers in the Niger Coast Protectorate in connection with the Benin expedition. The necessary orders to these officers have been issued accordingly.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ARTHUR L. HALIBURTON.

No. 27.

War Office to Foreign Office.—(Received January 15.)

Sir, *War Office, January* 15, 1897.

WITH reference to your letter of yesterday's date, I am directed by the Secretary of State for War to inform you that approval has been given of 100 men of the West India Regiment being sent from Sierra Leone to hold the Niger Delta whilst the Niger Company's forces are wanted in the north, or for such time as may be requisite, and instructions have accordingly been sent by telegraph to the Officer Commanding the Troops, Sierra Leone.

I am, &c.,
(Signed) ARTHUR HALIBURTON.

Inclosure in No. 27.

War Office to Officer Commanding the Troops, Sierra Leone.

(Telegraphic.) *War Office, January* 15, 1897.

SEND at once to Niger Protectorate, under proper charge, 100 men 2nd Battalion West India Regiment. Protectorate steamer "Ivy," now lying at Bonny awaiting instructions, will carry troops Sierra Leone to delta. Fifty men to be stationed at Akassa; fifty at Sabagreya.

No. 28.

Admiralty to Foreign Office.—(Received January 15.)

Sir, *Admiralty, January 15, 1897.*

IN reply to your letter of the 14th instant, asking whether one of the gun-boats which have been ordered to the Niger Coast Protectorate could visit Brass at frequent intervals during her stay off the coast in order to be able to support the Protectorate forces if required, I am commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to request that you will state to the Marquess of Salisbury that directions in this sense have been given to the Commander-in-chief.

I am, &c.
(Signed) EVAN MACGREGOR.

No. 29.

Mr. Burrows to Consul-General Moor.—(Received at Foreign Office, January 15.)

(Telegraphic.) *Brass, January 14, 1897.*

BOISRAGON and Locke saved, after wandering in bush for six days. Both wounded, doing well. No hope for remainder. About twenty carriers returned, one Krooman. Krooboys frightened. Suggest Fantee carriers for expedition.

No. 30.

The Marquess of Salisbury to Captain Gallwey.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, January 15, 1897.*

MY telegram of the 14th January.

"IVY" should be sent to Sierra Leone as soon as possible to transport 100 troops to Akassa. Commanding Officer at Sierra Leone instructed to lose no time in sending men. Inform Agent at Akassa, and arrange dates with Sierra Leone authorities. Admiralty asked to replace "Ivy" by gun-boat. Keep us informed.

No. 31.

Foreign Office to the Royal Niger Company.

Sir, *Foreign Office, January 15, 1897.*

I LAID before the Marquess of Salisbury your letter of the 12th instant containing copy of a telegram dated from the River Niger, in which Her Majesty's Government were urged to send gun-boats to the river to relieve the Company's forces and control the Brass tribe, from whom an attack on the Company's territories was said to be expected.

Her Majesty's Government, as you are already aware, have been in frequent communication with the officials of the Niger Coast Protectorate on this subject, and have given instructions that the greatest watchfulness should be observed and immediate notice given to the agents of your Company of any symptoms of hostile intentions on the part of natives of the Protectorate towards the Niger Company. They are informed that there are no signs of any such intentions, and that every possible precaution has been taken by the officers of the Protectorate with the forces at their command. In consequence, however, of the urgent representations received from you and in communications addressed to this Department by Lord Scarborough, your Deputy-Governor, Her Majesty's Government have decided to dispatch Imperial troops to the River Niger, as well as one or more of Her Majesty's ships to the mouths of the river.

They have consequently instructed the Officer Commanding the Troops at Sierra Leone to hold 100 men of the 2nd Battalion West India Regiment in readiness to

proceed to the Niger, of whom fifty will be stationed at Akassa and fifty at Sabagreya, whilst the Company's troops are employed north of Lokoja, or till such time as may seem requisite.

The Protectorate yacht "Ivy" will be sent to Sierra Leone at the earliest possible moment, and will convey the troops to their destination.

I am to request that orders may be telegraphed out to your Representative at Akassa to take the necessary steps for the proper reception, housing, and maintenance of the troops, and to place himself in communication with Captain Gallwey, Her Majesty's Acting Commissioner, and with the Officer Commanding at Sierra Leone, as to the exact date on which they may be expected to arrive.

A careful account should be kept of all expenses incurred by the Company on behalf of the troops.

I am, &c.
(Signed) FRANCIS BERTIE.

No. 32.

Foreign Office to Admiralty.

Sir, *Foreign Office, January* 15, 1897.

WITH reference to my letter of this day's date respecting the possible dispatch of Sierra Leone troops to the River Niger, I am directed by the Marquess of Salisbury to transmit to you, for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, copies of the papers marked in the margin,* showing that that course has been definitively decided upon.

I am to request that their Lordships will be so good as to instruct the Senior Naval Officer now in the Gulf of Benin to place a gun-boat at the disposal of Her Majesty's Acting Commissioner whilst the "Ivy" is absent on special service.

I am, &c.
(Signed) FRANCIS BERTIE.

No. 33.

Captain Gallwey to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(Received January 17.)

(Telegraphic.) *Bonny, January* 17, 1897.

RETURNED from interior yesterday. Proceed to Benin to-day. Will keep you fully informed. Respectfully suggest strong force necessary. Benin country in ferment. Co-operation of West India Regiment and Lagos Constabulary advisable. Have wired to Moor, Canary, to this effect. Have taken charge pending your sanction, and recommend Harcourt Acting Vice-Consul. Shall be at Brass to-morrow. No further details from Benin.

No. 34.

The Marquess of Salisbury to Captain Gallwey.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, January* 17, 1897.

YOU should not reduce the detachment at Brass. As to Degama and Ediba, you should use your own discretion.

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* Nos. 27, 30, and 31.

No. 35.

The Marquess of Salisbury to Captain Gallwey.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, January* 17, 1897.

WITH reference to your telegram of to-day, what number of Protectorate troops will be available for employment at Benin, the garrisons of other places not being unduly weakened? No Constabulary can be spared from Lagos. Strong naval force will shortly be available. I approve your taking charge, and Mr. Harcourt as Acting Vice-Consul. No forward movement is to be made before Mr. Moor's arrival.

No. 36.

The Marquess of Salisbury to Mr. Harrison.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, January* 17, 1897.

WHAT is the strength of the force of the Protectorate which is now at Brass? Could more troops be accommodated?

No. 37.

Royal Niger Company to Foreign Office.—(Received January 18.)

Surrey House, Victoria Embankment, London,

Sir, *January* 18, 1897.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt by the Council of the Foreign Office letter of the 15th instant, replying to the Council's letter of the 12th instant, drawing the urgent attention of Her Majesty's Government to the rumours of apprehended trouble on the part of the Brass tribes.

The Council note with satisfaction that Her Majesty's Government have given instructions to the Protectorate officials that the greatest watchfulness should be observed, and immediate notice given to the agents of this Company of any signs of hostility on the part of natives of the Protectorate towards the Company.

Bearing in mind, however, the events of two years ago, the Council hesitate to accept without reserve the assurances of the officers of the Protectorate that there are no signs of unrest among the tribes under their rule. They are glad, therefore, to note that Her Majesty's Government have determined to dispatch Imperial troops as well as one or more of Her Majesty's ships to the Delta of the Niger.

In reference to this decision, the Council venture to make the following observations:—

While thanking Her Majesty's Government for their ready acknowledgment of the vital importance of keeping the Protectorate tribes quiet at the present juncture, the Council wish to point out that the apprehensions of the Company arise from possible hostile intentions on the part of tribes outside the Company's territories, and not from within.

The Company have persistently refrained from soliciting Imperial aid for the purpose of maintaining order in the territories under their control, and they do not ask for it now. They recognize their full responsibility in this respect, and are prepared to face it. All that is now asked for is safety from outside attacks by tribes under the control of the Protectorate; and although of necessity they recognize it must be left to the discretion of Her Majesty's Government to adopt such precautions as they think necessary to insure this protection, they wish to make it clear that they have not asked for or suggested any assistance beyond the maintenance of an adequate force at Brass, and the stationing of a gun-boat at that place and at Akassa, which precautions, in their opinion, would set at liberty the undue proportion of the Company's troops now stationed in the delta.

If, however, for strategical reasons, Her Majesty's Government deem it essential that the Company's stations of Sabagreia and Akassa should be occupied by Imperial

troops, and that protection from outside attack cannot be insured unless this step be taken, the Council, on receiving such assurance, will render Her Majesty's Government every assistance, and make the necessary arrangements for the reception of the troops.

I have, &c.

(Signed) SCARBROUGH,
Deputy Governor.

No. 38.

Mr. Harrison to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(Received Januaay 18.)

(Telegraphic.) *Brass, January 18, 1897.*

273 MEN now here. Arrangements could be made to accommodate more in old houses here.

No. 39.

Captain Gallwey to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(Received January 19.)

(Telegraphic.) *Brass, January 19, 1897.*

"PHŒBE" here. I return from Benin about 26th. No further news.

No. 40.

Captain Gallwey to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(Received January 19.)

(Telegraphic.) *Brass, January 19, 1897.*

YOUR telegrams received.

300 Protectorate troops now available for Benin; could raise 400 if West Indian Regiment garrisoned.

No. 41.

Admiralty to Foreign Office.—(Received January 19.)

Sir, *Admiralty, January 19, 1897.*

WITH reference to Admiralty letter of the 15th instant and to previous correspondence relative to the preparation of the punitive expedition against the King of Benin, I am commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to transmit, for the information of the Marquess of Salisbury, a list of the names of Her Majesty's ships which have been ordered to proceed to the Niger Coast Protectorate.

2. The whole force may be expected to be assembled off the Coast by the 6th February, under the orders of the Commander-in-chief, who will take the necessary measures for the conduct of the expedition against the King of Benin, with the co-operation of the force of the Protectorate.

I am, &c.

(Signed) EVAN MACGREGOR.

Inclosure in No. 41.

List of Ships ordered to proceed to Niger Coast Protectorate.

"ST. GEORGE," (flag), Captain G. le C. Egerton.
"Theseus," Captain C. Campbell, C.B.*
"Forte," Captain R. F. O. Foote.*

* Temporarily transferred from the Mediterranean Station. Also the "Malacca," transport, as a depôt and hospital-ship.

"Philomel," Captain M. P. O'Callaghan.
"Phœbe," Captain T. MacGill.
"Barrosa," Commander J. Startin.
"Magpie," Lieutenant H. V. W. Elliott.
"Widgeon," Lieutenant J. H. S. Burder.
"Alecto," Lieutenant C. E. Pritchard.

No. 42.

*The Marquess of Salisbury to Consul-General Moor.**

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, January* 20, 1897.

NINE ships and a hospital ship will assemble off coast by 6th February under Commander-in-chief, who will take necessary measures with co-operation of Protectorate forces.

No. 43.

Foreign Office to Royal Niger Company,

Sir, *Foreign Office, January* 20, 1897.

I LAID before the Marquess of Salisbury your letter of the 18th instant relating to the steps which Her Majesty's Government propose to take for securing the Lower Niger so far as possible from attacks from the natives of the Niger Coast Protectorate. I am directed by his Lordship to state, in reply, that he sees no reason to depart from the views expressed in the letter from this Department of the 15th instant.

I am, &c.
(Signed) FRANCIS BERTIE.

No. 44.

Admiralty to Admiral Rawson.—(Communicated by Admiralty, January 24.)

Sir, *Admiralty. January* 23, 1897.

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to acquaint you, with reference to your telegraphic report of the 11th instant, informing their Lordships that an unarmed party of Niger Coast Protectorate officers had been attacked, and the greater number of them murdered, when on their way to the city of Benin on a friendly mission to the King of that country, that it has been decided by Her Majesty's Government that an expedition shall be dispatched for the punishment of the King for this outrage, and that the force to be employed shall be furnished from the squadron under your orders.

2. You have consequently been instructed to proceed in Her Majesty's ship "St. George" to the Niger Coast for the purpose of directing the organization of the force to be landed for this service.

3. To enable you to land a force adequate to the service required without unduly crippling the vessels of the squadron, my Lords have directed the Commander-in-chief in the Mediterranean to lend Her Majesty's ships "Theseus" and "Forte" to the station under your command, and those ships left Gibraltar on the 21st instant for Brass River to call at Sierra Leone for Kroomen and orders.

4. When all the ships ordered to the Niger Coast have assembled, which should be by the 6th or 7th February, there will therefore be at your disposal:—

Her Majesty's ship "St. George."	Her Majesty's ship "Barrosa."
" " "Theseus."	" " "Widgeon."
" " "Phœbe."	" " "Magpie."
" " "Forte."	" " "Alecto."
" " "Philomel."	

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* Also to Mr. Harcourt.

5. The hired transport "Malacca," fitted for a hospital, sails from England on the 23rd instant direct for the Forcados River with stores, and the following ranks and ratings for disposal:—

Naval ratings, &c., for disposal on the station	1 chief gunner. 1 boatswain. 10 P.Os. and leading seamen (two being C.P.Os.). 10 A.Bs. 60 boys.
Marines	1 captain. 2 subalterns. 120 rank and file.
Medical officers	6 surgeons. 3 nursing sisters.
Sick-berth ratings	3 S.B. stewards. 4 2nd S.B. stewards. 17 S.B. attendants.

6. The supreme direction of this expedition will rest with you, and Consul-General Moor, C.M.G. (who, together with Lieutenant-Colonel Bruce Hamilton, left Liverpool for Benin on the 16th instant), has been informed accordingly, but you are to confer freely with the Consul-General in respect of all matters coming within his province.

7. Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton has been selected by the Secretary of State for War to take temporary command of the land forces of the Niger Coast Protectorate, and that officer has been directed to co-operate with you.

8. Having satisfied yourself as to the sufficiency of the force you propose to land, you will make the necessary arrangements for the successful conduct of the expedition, the objects of which are: To rescue any possibly surviving members of the party attacked by the King of Benin; to take the city of Benin; and, if possible, to capture the King.

This done, the occupation of the town and district of Benin is to be left to the Protectorate forces, and the work of re-embarkation to be commenced with as little delay as possible.

9. Arrangements have been made for a collier to convey 2,300 tons of coal to Fernando Po, where she will await your orders.

10. Separate communications will be addressed to you in respect of the stores, ammunition, &c., necessary to be supplied, but as regards the filters asked for by you, and which will be furnished so far as possible, I am desired to impress strongly upon you the necessity for causing all water used for cooking or drinking to be boiled.

11. Intelligence reports and charts relative to the Benin district will be forwarded under separate cover in the "Malacca."

12. The opinion of Consul-General Moor, on which the Foreign Office requisition was originally based, is that a force of 250 seamen and marines and 250 Niger Coast Protectorate troops will be sufficient to insure success, but on this point you must be guided by the judgment you may be able to form on the information you receive after your arrival at Benin.

My Lords have provided you with what should be an ample reserve of force, and your experience of African warfare will lead you to consider the question of numbers very closely, bearing in mind that it is undesirable to employ a larger force than is necessary for the attainment of the object of the expedition.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EVAN MACGREGOR.

No. 45.

Royal Niger Company to Foreign Office.—(Received January 25.)

Surrey House, Victoria Embankment, London,
January 25, 1897.

Sir,

I AM directed by the Deputy-Governor and Council to acknowledge receipt of the Foreign Office letter of the 20th instant. The Council note that the Marquess of Salisbury sees no reason to depart from the views expressed in the Foreign Office

letter of the 15th instant relative to the precautions which Her Majesty's Government consider necessary to safeguard the Company's Delta stations from attack by the tribes of the Niger Coast Protectorate, and they have accordingly cabled their Agent-General to prepare for the reception of 100 men of Her Majesty's West India Regiment from Sierra Leone.

I am further directed to add—to avoid possible misunderstanding—that the Council cannot admit any responsibility as to the cost of transport or maintenance of Her Majesty's troops while engaged on this service, and they will be glad to have an early intimation from Her Majesty's Government as to whom they are to look for payment of the outlay that will be incurred.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY MORLEY,
Secretary.

No. 46.

Foreign Office to the Royal Niger Company.

Sir, *Foreign Office, January* 28, 1897.

I HAVE laid before the Marquess of Salisbury your letter of the 25th instant in regard to the precautions which are being taken to secure the stations of the Royal Niger Company in the Delta of the Niger, and disclaiming any responsibility for the cost of the transport or maintenance of the troops which Her Majesty's Government are sending to the Delta for the purpose.

I am directed by his Lordship in reply to remind you that his special attention was called to this matter by your letter of the 12th instant, which inclosed a telegram from the Company's representative in the Niger, stating that a large proportion of the Company's Houssa troops were stationed in the Delta owing to rumours of intended invasion from the Coast Protectorate, which was unable to control the Brass tribe, unless Her Majesty's Government sent gun-boats there.

On the same day an urgent private letter was written by Lord Scarborough, in which it was stated that the Company undertook their present operations in the interior on the distinct understanding with the Consul-General that the Protectorate would safeguard the Company's territories from attack by Brassmen, and it was urged that, if the Protectorate were not in a position to carry out the undertaking, assistance should be given by the naval force on the station.

Lord Salisbury was fully alive to the uncertainty attaching to the Company's operations against Nupe with the small force at their disposal, and recognized that they might at any time require their whole available resources.

Accordingly, after careful consideration, and although the fears expressed by your Representatives of the probability of an attack were not shared by the officials of the Coast Protectorate, and a large force of the Protectorate troops were concentrated at Brass, he decided, as the best means of entirely meeting the Company's wishes, to send an Imperial force, so that the Company's garrisons in the Delta might be available elsewhere, whilst Her Majesty's ships patrolled the Brass and Akassa mouths of the river, and you were informed to that effect on the 15th instant. In your reply of the 18th instant you repeated the Company's distrust of the information given by the officials of the Coast Protectorate, and expressed satisfaction at the steps taken by Her Majesty's Government. They admit that the Niger Coast Protectorate are bound to take all reasonable precautions to prevent incursions by their tribesmen into the Company's territories, and Lord Salisbury feels satisfied that they have done so, but for the Company to leave their stations defenceless, on the ground that the responsibility of preventing incursions rests entirely with others, is almost to invite attack. The Company's forces have been admitted to be insufficient for both purposes of attack in the Upper River and defence in the Delta, and Her Majesty's Government must reserve the right to claim from the Company the repayment of any expense to which the Imperial Exchequer may be put in assisting the Company to protect the Territories which they have by their Charter undertaken to administer.

I am, &c.
(Signed) FRANCIS BERTIE.

No. 47.

Commander-in-Chief, Cape Station, to Admiralty.—(*Communicated by Admiralty, February* 5.)

(Telegraphic.) *Brass, February* 4, 1897.

ALL ships, with the exception of steam-ship "Malacca" and "Magpie," have arrived. The "Philomel," "Phœbe," "Barrosa," and "Alecto," with the Haussas, are already up the Benin River. Carriers will arrive at Sapele on 7th instant.

"St. George," "Theseus," "Forte," and steam-ship "Malacca" will leave on 8th instant for a position outside the Benin River. The "Magpie" will be at Forcados on 8th instant. On 9th February an expedition from the "Philomel," "Barrosa," "Alecto," and "Widgeon" will attack and destroy Gwato, causing a diversion in that direction.

At daylight on 10th February a force from "St. George," "Theseus," "Forte," with marines from steam-ship "Malacca," will cross Benin bar in hired vessels, reaching Warrigi, which is 4 miles below Sapele, the same evening. Will land and commence march the following morning. A base has already been formed at Warrigi, and roads have been cut to Ceri, where a fortified camp is being prepared. From there I propose to cut my way through the forest to Benin. I shall be unable to telegraph further before arrival at Benin. I propose leaving to-day (4th February) with Consul-General for Sapele, returning here 7th instant.

No. 48.

Consul-General Moor to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(*Received February* 8.)

(Telegraphic.) *Brass, February* 7, 1897.

ARRIVED 3rd instant; proceeded Benin with Admiral 4th; returned 6th. Arrangement of expedition complete. Overwhelming force being available, will be landed to create impression throughout Protectorate and adjoining territory.

Column advances on 10th, cutting track viâ Ologbo. Gwato creek will be held to about 8 miles above village of same name, and Jamieson River to source, and line of native spies across north. Survivors recovered. Locke proceeds home.

No. 49.

Vice-Consul Gallwey to Foreign Office.—(*Received February* 15.)

Sir, *Bonny, January* 16, 1897.

I HAVE the honour to report, for Lord Salisbury's information, that, on arrival at Eberu in the Ibo country yesterday, I received news of the disaster that had happened in Benin. I proceeded on at once, reaching Bonny the following evening. I had been surveying the country between the New Calabar and Opobo Rivers; hence any delays that have occurred.

All particulars up to date have been given by cablegram. Benin not being a telegraph station, news takes a long time to reach Bonny and Brass. Launch communication has been started between Brass and Benin, but the round journey takes about 12 days or so. In addition to this, the water in the Niger is low.

I proceed to-day to Benin to learn full particulars from the two survivors, Captain Boisragon and Mr. Locke. I hope to return here about the 26th instant, when I will cable full details.

The following is an epitome of the object and movements of the ill-fated expedition:—

Mr. Phillips' opinion was that every pacific means towards approaching the King of Benin would not be complete until he, as Acting Consul-General, paid a visit to the King. Accordingly, on the 2nd instant, Mr. Phillips started from Sapele, having sent messages on many days beforehand of his intended pacific visit to the King. The officers, &c., accompanying Mr. Phillips were: Major Copland Crawford, D.S.O., Mr. Locke, Mr. Campbell, Captain Boisragon, Mr. Maling, Dr. Elliott, and two European agents, Messrs. Powis and Gordon. Also the Consul-General's chief Accra clerk, the Sapele storekeeper, about a dozen officers' servants, two interpreters, and about 220 carriers (Jakris and Krooboys).

The expedition reached Gwato the same afternoon, and stayed at Gwato the night.

It appears that Mr. Phillips took the drum and fife band of the Niger Coast Protectorate Force with him, but was strongly urged by some of his staff and by the friendly natives not to take them. He accordingly sent them back from Gwato.

That evening and the following morning Mr. Phillips was entreated by the Jakri people not to attempt to go to Benin city, as the King was "making country custom," and would not think of allowing the white men to enter the town. The King also sent down a last message to say that he would receive only the Consul-General and one big Jakri Chief to "talk the palaver."

Mr. Phillips, however, was confident he could carry his object, and pushed on the following morning. It appears that at about 4 o'clock in the afternoon of the 4th January, the expedition were caught in an ambush and shot down mercilessly. They were all unarmed, Mr. Phillips having wished them to be so. The accounts of the few carriers appear to be more or less the same, and no hope at first could be held out that any of the Europeans had escaped. Captain Boisragon and Mr. Locke, however, appeared a few days afterwards, having been wandering in the bush for six days, both slightly wounded from all accounts.

The Protectorate officers at Sapele on hearing of the disaster (which wasn't till the 7th instant) were more than ready to take the few troops available and go straight up to Benin city; on consultation, however, they decided that no good could be done with a handful of men, and that if any prisoners were in the hands of the King, any offensive movement on their part would probably seal the fate of the captives.

I fully concur in their decision. Captain Cockburn, Messrs. Child and Lyon, who had to decide this, were placed in a very difficult and responsible position.

I am only writing very briefly on the subject, as full details will not be known until I have seen Captain Boisragon and Mr. Locke.

The Benin country is said to be in a state of ferment, but the King's people (Binis) are not watermen, and so could undertake no offensive action against Sapele or the Benin factories. Mr. Assistant District Commissioner Lyon warned all Jakri Chiefs to remove their people from the Beni markets as soon as he heard of the disaster.

It will, I fear, be very difficult to gain much information as to the enemy's movements, as the Bini country is now practically closed.

With the exception of about seventy men in the Benin district, and fifty men in all at Ediba and Degema, I have concentrated the Niger Coast Protectorate Force at Brass, from whence they can be moved to Benin when required. I decided that it would be risky to bring them to Warri; firstly, because if the water supply ran short (which it often does in the dry season), there would be serious inconvenience, whereas at Brass, condensed water can be obtained; secondly, the accommodation and manœuvring ground at Brass is larger; and, thirdly, the King of Benin is less likely to hear of the preparations for the expedition than he would be if the troops went to Warri.

The number concentrated at Brass is about 270.

It is with deep regret that I have to report the terrible fate that has befallen so many valuable officers of the Protectorate, who, unarmed, were engaged in a pacific mission.

I will not mention individuals, but there are several whose places it will be more than difficult to fill.

I will close this report, as the whole matter will be reported in full when all details are known, and the object of the expedition has been carried out.

I am, &c.

(Signed) H. L. GALLWEY,

Acting Commissioner and Consul-General.

No. 50.

Consul-General Moor to Foreign Office.—(Received February 15.)

Sir, *"Theseus," at Sierra Leone, January 29,* 1897.

I HAVE the honour to forward inclosed a copy of District Commissioner Burrows' diary concerning the late events in Benin, which throws considerable light on the circumstances of the expedition. Also I inclose a copy of statement taken by District

Commissioner Lyons from the two survivors, Captain Boisragon and District Commissioner Locke, together with a list of entire party forming expedition.

I am, &c.
(Signed) R. MOOR,
Commissioner and Consul-General.

Inclosure 1 in No. 50.

Diary of District Commissioner Burrows, showing Circumstances of Start of Expedition to Benin City.

January 2nd, 1897, 7·50 A.M.—Left Sapele. Acting Consul-General Crawford, Campbell, Boisragon, and Maling in "Primrose." Locke, Elliot, Gordon, Powis, and self in "Daisy."

January 2nd, 1897, 9·15 A.M.—Met Chief Dore in his canoe; stopped half-an-hour to have consultation with Consul-General. The band transferred to Dore's canoe and returned to Sapele.

January 2nd, 1897, 11·45 A.M.—Gwato Creek.

January 2nd, 1897, 12·10 P.M.—Anchored at Dudu's town.

King's message to Consul-General.—That he is making his "father," and cannot possibly see us under a month, and on no account to go to him.

Dore says it will be certain death to go. Consul-General says he will go.*

The messenger Ayegbanker, one of Dudu's boys, was stopped outside the city by two of the King's eunuchs, and told to go to the King direct, and that he would see him and receive his message in person.

This unusual proceeding was entirely on account of King and messenger having been playmates together when young.

The King told the messenger that if the Consul-General was to come he was only to do so by himself and a big Jakri Chief only. He said he had heard of the white men going all over the country and taking the Chiefs prisoners, saying, "Now, my friend, we have got you, and will keep you."

The Consul-General determines to go on and land at Bajilli-Gilli or Gwato, to pick up carriers.

January 2nd, 1897, 4·10 P.M.—Arrived at Bajilli-Gilli; stayed night.

January 3rd, 1897.—Left Bajilli-Gilli 10·30 A.M.; arrived Gwato 11·10 A.M.

The King's messengers there. Consul-General determined to go on. We hear the King is cutting the road. Large house provided for us by Chief, and we dine in the open.

January 4th, 1897.—Left at daylight. Mustered 200 carriers, which had got to Gwato the night before, and started off the expedition at 7·30 A.M. Self left in "Primrose" for Sapele at 7·45 A.M.; arrived Sapele 4·20 P.M.

January 7th, 1897, 3 A.M.—Received letter from Chief Dore, stating expedition had been fired on, and white men killed.

Conferred with Cockburn and Child; ordered steam on launch, and left 6·45 A.M. in "Primrose" with Mr. Swainson.

January 7th, 1897, 8·30 A.M.—Met Farrago with a runaway carrier, verifying report that the expedition had been fired on, and one white man had fallen. The carrier ran away on seeing this. Carrier states a Krooboy has got to Jackwa.

Decided to return to Sapele. Arrived Sapele 10·45 A.M.

Decided after coaling that the yacht with the troops should go to entrance of Gwato Creek, taking down the soldiers.

Self and Swainson left in "Primrose" 12·30 P.M.

Received letters at Gwato Creek from Chief Dore, verifying report, all killed.

Sent up for steam launch "Daisy," which was at Gwato, at once.

Arrived at Vice-Consulate, Benin, 6·20 P.M.

Saw the Krooboy carrier of Gordon's, who stated, "White men in front, carriers behind."

About 4 o'clock they came near a town, when shots were fired in front into white men and into the carriers. He saw carriers fall, then ran away after a struggle with a Benin.

* Chief Dore is the most able and trustworthy native Political Agent in the division.—R. MOOR.

January 7th, 1897, 9·15 P.M.—Dore came from Batero with news that all except one long thin man had been killed.

Gave him orders to send everywhere to pick up information.

Sent for Chiefs Wagoni, Naformi, Awalla, to wait at entrance of creek in the morning.

January 8th, 1897, *Benin*, 6 A.M.—Started to "Coomassie;" got coal.

Dore and Frangone and Jim Etchie arrived.

Jakri carrier says that the village where firing took place is Saknadi, the fifth village after Gwato. The carrier saw a white man fall. White man had tattoo marks on arm (must be Crawford). He says all white men were shot.

Left Benin, 7·30 A.M., with Dore and Jim Etchie; arrived Dudu's Creek 9·15 A.M.; sent them to get Dudu down.

Got Dudu on board, and with all Chiefs went to mouth of creek. Yacht just arrived. Took the Chiefs on board, so that Child and Cockburn could hear what they say.

Gave orders to Chiefs to remove their people away from Benin villages, and Dudu to intercept all canoes going up to Gwato Creek. Dore to send to Sapobah and Ikoro markets for news.

Launch "Daisy" arrived 10·45 A.M.

Inclosure 2 in No. 50.

Statement made by Captain Boisragon and District Commissioner Locke, the Survivors of the Benin Expedition, to Assistant District Commissioner Lyons. Written January 10, 1897.

LOCKE and Boisragon tell me they were just getting to the village, where they were going to stop the night (village the fourth from Gwato); the Acting Consul-General was on in front, Crawford and the others following, when they heard shots fired in front; they tried to get their revolvers out of their boxes, but could not find the boxes, so they hurried up to the front, where Crawford (wounded) ran back, saying it was no good going on to the Acting Consul-General, as he was dead. They carried Crawford back a little way, when he was hit again two or three times. They got hit again and again. Maling was shot in the back, and died of wounds. The doctor (Elliott) hit in the back of the head dead. Powis (trader) rushed to the front; tried to stop the people, and was shot. When they had seen all was up, and they had seen poor Crawford die in his chair, they rushed into the bush and lay quiet. They saw the carriers lying dead. They worked their way, not daring to go near the bush paths, and in five days got near the waterside, where they found one of Dudu's boys, who brought them down, meeting me at Dudu's Creek. The only food they had was plantain, and their drink was the dew off the leaves of trees. They say there is no likelihood of any white man saved.

Mr. Lyons adds: "Locke and Boisragon were very exhausted and full of pellets, so I did not worry them to tell me too much last night. The carriers, out of 250 not 20 have come back, but I have hopes there may be still a few in the bush."

The people in the expedition were:

Phillips, Crawford, Boisragon, Maling, Locke, Campbell, Elliott, Powis, Jordan } Europeans.
Herbert Clarke, Interpreter and Native Political Agent.
Toway, Interpreter.
Baddoo, Chief Clerk, Consul-General's Office.
Baddoo, cook, Consul-General's Office.
Owoo, steward, „ „
Officers' servants, 9, natives.
65 Krooboys, carriers.
150 Jakri carriers.

Mr. Lyons adds: "Mr. Flint, of the Royal Niger Company, is very kind, and helping us a lot." I have a similar assurance from District Commissioner Burrows.

(Signed) R. MOOR, *Consul-General.*

"*Theseus*," *at Sierra Leone, January* 29, 1897.

No. 51.

Consul-General Moor to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(Received February 15.)

(Telegraphic.) *Lagos, February 15, 1897.*

GWATO town destroyed and occupied by navy on 10th; one officer two men severely wounded, one officer one man slightly. Sapoba and roads at back occupied 11th by navy. While stockading camp on roads, Lieutenant-Commander Pritchard, of "Alecto," killed. Ologbo village, on Benin city side of creek, occupied on 12th by navy and Protectorate forces. Captain L. C. Koe, Protectorate force, severely wounded in arm; doing well. Three of native troops slightly wounded. Boisragon recovered from wounds, but invalided.

No. 52.

Admiral Rawson to Admiralty.—(Communicated by Admiralty, February 16.)

Ologbo, February 12, 1897 (vid Lagos, February 15).

(Telegraphic.)

WITH reference to my telegram of the 4th instant, I took expedition up Benin River in hired steamers 10th February, landed Warrigi 11th, marched to Ceri same day, attacked and occupied Ologbo 12th; force under Captain of "Philomel" attacked and occupied Gilli-Gilli and Gwato 10th; force under Captain of "Phœbe" occupied and stockaded a position 4 miles from Sapoba 11th. Casualties at Ologbo, Captain L. C. Koe, Protectorate force, severely wounded, three native troops slightly wounded. Casualties at Gwato, Lieutenant E. D. Hunt, "Widgeon," D. Halloran, petty officer, 1st Class, G. Beverton, A.B., severely wounded; Captain M. P. O'Callaghan, "Philomel," H. E. Baker, A.B., slightly wounded. Casualties at Sapoba, Lieutenant C. E. Pritchard, "Alecto," killed; Private C. Mill died from sunstroke.

Shall continue advance towards Benin from Ologbo directly I have established base there. Advance will be slow owing to dense forest and absence of water. No advance from Sapoba and Gwato, but both places will be held.

No. 53.

Admiralty to Admiral Rawson.—(Communicated by Admiralty, February 19.)

(Telegraphic.) *Admiralty, February 19, 1897.*

THE following telegram received from the Queen:—

"Please convey to Admiral Rawson and force under his command my congratulations on their successful advance, though I deeply regret casualties, including three Commanding Officers of my ships. I shall anxiously await further news. Please forward any reports about the wounded.

"V. R. I."

No. 54.

Acting Commissioner Gallwey to Foreign Office.—(Received February 22.)

Sir, *"Widgeon," at Benin, January 21, 1897.*

IN continuation of my despatch of the 18th instant, I have the honour to report, for the Marquess of Salisbury's information, that I arrived in the Benin River on the 20th instant on board Her Majesty's ship "Widgeon."

2. I regret to state that, after interviewing the two surviving officers of the expedition, Captain Boisragon and Mr. Locke, and gaining all possible information from escaped carriers and messengers, and after holding a meeting of the leading Jakri Chiefs, no hope can be held out that any other officers have escaped.

Messrs. Boisragon and Locke are both wounded, not seriously; but wandering for five days and five nights in the forest seriously exaggerated the injuries received. Dr. d'Arcy Irvine has been most attentive in caring for these two officers.

3. In brief extract, the following is an account of what actually happened, taken from the statements of Messrs. Locke and Boisragon, and of several natives who accompanied the ill-fated expedition :—

The expedition left Sapele on the morning of the 2nd instant. It consisted of Messrs. Phillips, Copland, Crawford, Locke, Boisragon, Maling, Campbell, Elliot and Lyon, also of two European traders—Mr. Gordon, belonging to the African Association at Sapele, and Mr. Powis, belonging to the firm of Messrs. Miller Brothers at Old Calabar. These gentlemen accompanied the expedition on Mr. Phillips' invitation. There were over 200 carriers, 2 Government interpreters, the Consul-General's chief clerk and cook, 2 orderlies, 1 store-keeper (from Sapele), and 1 servant to each officer, with the exception of Mr. Powis, who it appears had 4 boys with him. Mr. Phillips also took the drum-and-fife band of the Niger Coast Protectorate Force with him, but sent it back from Gwato, after being begged by the Jakri natives not to take them.

The expedition anchored off Gilli-Gilli for the night. Mr. Phillips' messenger, whom he had sent to the King with a present a couple of days before, returned and reported that the King took the present, and expressed surprise at getting another present so soon.

The King further said that he had so much "custom" to make just now that he could not see the Acting Consul-General or any white man, but that in about a month's time he would send down and let the Acting Consul-General know when he was ready, and receive him and one big Jakri Chief only.

The messenger further stated, in private, that as he was leaving Benin city, the King of Benin gave orders for some of his soldiers to go to the different waterside towns. The messenger also told the Acting Consul-General quietly that the King had said to him, "If the white men are really coming, that he (the messenger) was to come on and let him know first of all."

This messenger is reported as being most intelligent, and was apparently an old friend of the King before the latter succeeded to the Throne, but this must be taken *cum grano salis*. The messenger, however, had a personal interview with the King, so the King's message was "first-hand."

Mr. Phillips then sent the messenger back to the King to say he was coming. A Jakri messenger next arrived, and said that all the Jakris (the Benin River tribe—distinct and unconnected with the Binis, except in trade matters) were frightened, and were leaving the waterside towns on the Benin city side of Gwato Creek, as the Bini soldiers were coming down from the city. Mr. Phillips then sent this man to the Headman or Chief of Gwato to tell that person that the expedition would arrive at Gwato next morning, and wanted accommodation for about 10 white men and 200 carriers. The next day the expedition reached Gwato—which is quite close to Gilli-Gilli—where they found all ready for them, the Chief having given up his own house to the white men. Three King's messengers then came and said they were sent to lead the expedition to the city.

Mr. Phillips explained that he had come as a friend to the King, who had taken his presents, that he had no wish nor intention of interfering with any of their customs, and that he wished to proceed on his way the following morning, as he had plenty of work to do elsewhere. Mr. Phillips then introduced each officer in turn, with his rank, to the King's messengers.

The messengers begged for a day's delay to give the King time to prepare. This was refused. The messengers then asked Mr. Phillips to give them a "token" to send to the King, to show that the expedition was really coming. Mr. Phillips sent a uniform cane belonging to Captain Boisragon. The messengers departed for Benin city.

After this, everything appeared to go most smoothly, and the Gwato people (subjects of the King) seemed very pleased to see the white men. One Benin city Chief, named Mary Boma, with several other people there, recognized with much evident pleasure Major Crawford and Mr. Maling, who had visited Gwato before.

The expedition went through the recognized custom of "feet washing" before entering Gwato town. That evening Mr. Phillips issued two or three orders, one of which was to the effect that he would lead the column with the guide and one interpreter, and another, that officers might carry revolvers if they so wished it, but that they were not to show them. As a matter of fact, no officers carried revolvers on their person.

The next morning (3rd instant) at 8 A.M., the expedition started from Gwato, Mr. Lyon returning to Sapele to take charge in Mr. Campbell's absence. Dr. d'Arcy Irvine had already relieved Dr. Elliot temporarily at Sapele. At 11 A.M. the expedition halted for breakfast. The natives seemed extremely pleased to see them. The road,

although they could only walk comfortably in single file, was in excellent order (bearing from east-north-east to east). After breakfast the expedition pushed on, and somewhere near 4 o'clock in the afternoon it came to a small defile.

All the white men were walking in front, and when the head of the column got round a corner, they suddenly heard a fusilade of guns. At first, the officers of the expedition thought this was meant for a salute, but soon discovered they had been treacherously led into an ambush, and that the carriers were being massacred. The white men then ran back with a view to getting their revolvers out of their boxes, but failed in their efforts. Mr. Phillips, however, did not turn back, he being well round the corner at the head of the column. Then all went forward to close round Mr. Phillips, but Major Crawford came back, saying, Mr. Phillips had just been shot dead. Mr. Phillips' orderly then came up and corroborated the statement. The remainder then fell back slowly along the route they had come. They were all unarmed, and the enemy were firing at them on both sides at very close quarters. Major Crawford was then badly hit, and Messrs. Locke, Maling, Boisragon and Elliot tried to assist him along, as he, Major Crawford, had lost the entire use of his legs through the wound received. Major Crawford was almost immediately hit again, this time fatally; then Mr. Maling fell dead, as did Dr. Elliot shortly afterwards. Mr. Campbell doing his best to rally the carriers, with Messrs. Powis and Gordon, were all shot dead. Messrs. Boisragon and Locke, then seeing that all their companions were killed—they both being wounded—crept into the bush, and after wandering for five days and nights they reached a waterside market, called Ikoru, about twenty miles above Gwato, and were taken down stream in a canoe by a friendly Ijo man who happened to be there. On getting some way down the creek below Gwato they met Mr. Lyon in the steam-launch "Primrose," who was on the look-out for fugitives. Mr. Lyon brought them to the African Association factory in the Benin River, where they now are. During all the time they were wandering in the forest they went without food and drink, except what they could get by sucking the dew off the leaves. Dr. d'Arcy Irvine informed me that they could not have lived another day without food.

Both these officers go home by first opportunity. Mr. Locke has more than completed his year on the coast. They are both progressing very favourably, and out of all danger.

4. All property fell into the hands of the enemy, and those natives who were not shot or cut down were taken as prisoners to the city. I have this day issued an ultimatum to the King, which will be sent by a trustworthy messenger, demanding that all persons and property in his hands shall be given up at once. I have taken care to say nothing further, but issued the ultimatum in chance of saving some lives and recovering private property: whether the King complies or not will make no difference as to making any alteration in the punishment to be inflicted, which cannot be too severe.

5. I held a meeting of the leading Jakri Chiefs to-day, and thanked them for the loyalty they had shown in assisting the Government during the present crisis. I urged them to continue doing so, saying that all losses in carriers, &c., would be paid for, and their services properly noticed.

I am arranging for carriers and water transport with the Jakri Chiefs of Warri, Benin, and Sapele, so that when I meet Admiral Rawson at Brass, on or about the 30th instant, I can give him full information of carriers, &c., available; and I can also give him my views as to the best points of attack, &c., having a sketch, drawn up by Mr. District Commissioner Burrows, showing the three landing points of Ologbo, Ikuru, and Gwato. Great vigilance is being shown in the way of messengers and spies to report on the King's movements and plans.

6. Before coming here I thought that probably it would be wise to have the assistance of a column of West India troops, but I am now of an opinion that the navy and Protectorate force are fully able to carry out the object of the expedition.

The Bini is not a fighting man, and a great coward into the bargain.

7. I take this opportunity of mentioning here the very excellent work done by Messrs. Burrows and Lyon in this district during a most trying and anxious time. They have both acted with great energy and tact in most difficult circumstances. Mr. Burrows has done most useful work in surveying the water approaches to Ikuru and Ologbo. Before I arrived, and a few days after the facts of the expedition were known, he took a few men with him and burnt Ologbo. Since receiving your cable, no further forward action will be taken until Mr. Moor's arrival, and I have issued strict orders to that effect.

I also am much indebted to Mr. Assistant District Commissioner Murray at Bonny,

who had great responsibility thrown on his shoulders during the few days between hearing the bad news and of my return from the interior. He showed himself to be an officer of judgment and great energy.

8. I might add that the station of Sapele and the Benin River factories are perfectly safe. The Binis, not being watermen, cannot leave their mainland, and, in any case, they are too great cowards to do so had they the chance, so there is no fear of any offensive movement on the King's part.

9. I would add that the destruction of Benin city, the removal and punishment of the King, the punishment of the fetish priests, the opening up of the country, &c., will prove a wonderful impetus to trade in this part of the Protectorate, and at the same time do away with a reign of terror and all its accompanying horrors.

10. I proceed to Sapele to-morrow, and then on to Brass and Bonny, where I hope to meet Admiral Rawson about the 30th instant. I shall have all detailed information, &c., ready for the Admiral and Mr. Moor on their arrival. I expect Mr. Moor to arrive at Forcados about the 7th February.

11. I do not think the King will offer much resistance as far as actual fighting goes. The people (there being no regular army) are probably only fighting under pressure, and on the first reverse I fancy nearly the whole country will flock in and claim protection. The people live under a heavy yoke of oppression and starvation at times. They are badly armed—chiefly long danes. Captain Boisragon and Mr. Locke say that they saw no rifles on the day the expedition was attacked. If not already removed, the ivory at Benin city should fully pay the cost of the expedition.

I am, &c.
(Signed) H. L. GALLWEY.

No. 55.

Consul-General Moor to the Marquess of Salisbury—(*Received February* 22.)

(Telegraphic.) *Brass, February* 22, 1897.

ADVANCED from Ologbo 14th in two columns, joining up on 16th. Benin city taken afternoon 18th. Distant 24 miles. Running fight entire route. Great difficulty with carriers getting up water. Considerable resistance taking city. Entire force brought up. Numbers 540 men. Casualties since my telegram of the 15th instant—1 naval surgeon, 1 chief petty officer, 2 marines, 1 sergeant Protectorate force, 1 scout, 1 carrier killed.

1 marine officer, 1 warrant officer, 1 petty officer, 4 marines, 1 seaman, 6 force, 8 carriers, 3 scouts, 1 interpreter severely wounded.

3 marines, 2 seamen, 2 force slightly wounded. City now deserted. Neither King nor Juju men captured. A few natives of Phillips' party have come in from bush. Dreadfully mutilated human sacrifices met *en route*, and in city crucifixions and mutilations. Juju houses compounds surrounding them reek with human blood. Several deep holes in compound filled with corpses. Effects of Europeans, Phillips' party, found in King's palaver-house. Admiral proposes remaining few days assist establish Protectorate forces here with necessary supplies. Immediate action taking [*sic*] capture King and Juju men, pacify country. Inhabitants inclined come in. All survivors well. No fever.

No. 56.

Admiral Rawson to Admiralty.—(*Communicated by Admiralty, February* 23.)

(Telegraphic.) *Brass, February* 22, 1897.

IN continuation of my telegram of 12th February, force left Ologbo 14th February; captured Benin city 18th February after sharp fighting. Column 3 miles long harassed by enemy the whole march; forced marches; very great heat; water supply carried by whole force at rate of 2 quarts for officer or man per day for all purposes. Men much exhausted on reaching Benin city. Getting ammunition and stores up for Protectorate force; will then re-embark men as quickly as possible. Place stinks of human blood; sacrifices and corpses everywhere.

Casualties, 13th February, 1 Houssa wounded; 14th February, 3 Houssas wounded; 15th February, 1 Houssa killed, 1 native scout, 1 native carrier wounded; 16th

February, 1 native scout killed; 17th February, Robert Dye, A.B., O.N., 131,263, "St. George," slightly wounded, 1 native carrier dangerously wounded, since dead, 1 native scout severely wounded; 18th February, Surgeon C. J. Fyfe, "St. George," Sydney Ansell, chief petty officer, O.N., 98504, "St. George," Howlett, gunner, R.M.A., 5254, "Malacca," M. Varndell, private, R.M.L.I., 3193, "Malacca," killed; G. F. Byrne, Captain, R.M.L.I., seriously wounded; William Johnston, gunner (T), "Philomel," W. Sinister, gunner, R.M.A., 1982, "Malacca," A. E. Targett, gunner, R.M.A., 3404, "Malacca," T. Samels, private, R.M.L.I., 5251, "Malacca," G. Hooper, private, R.M.L.I., 1426, "Malacca," Henry Grant, 2nd class petty officer, O.N., 130990, "St. George," George Green, A.B., O.N., 141856, "St. George," 4 Houssas, 6 native scouts, 1 native interpreter, severely wounded; George A. Smith, A.B., O.N., 147654, "St. George," S. Denman, gunner, R.M.A., 5249, "Malacca," T. H. Jones, gunner, R.M.A., 1665, "Malacca," E. Palmer, private, R.M.L.I., 5471, "Malacca," Tom Sedgwick, A.B., O.N., 144273, "St. George," slightly wounded.

Casualties at Sapoba, 11th February, besides those previously telegraphed: Arthur Williams Cheverall, A.B., O.N., 147439, "Alecto," killed; Richard John Tiddy, 1st class petty officer, O.N., 137123, "Alecto," severely wounded; Henry Cook, A.B., O.N., 142525, "Alecto," died from heat apoplexy; 17th February, Thomas Baker, private, Chatham Division, 5119, "Malacca," died from sunstroke; 16th February, further casualty at Gwato, William McCarthy, A.B., O.N., 128627, "Barrosa," slightly wounded. Enemy again attacked force near Sapoba 20th February. Casualties: Frank Stentiford, private, R.M.L.I., Plymouth, 3774, "Phœbe," killed; John Corcoran, private, R.M.L.I., Plymouth, 7214, "Phœbe," William Scott, private, R.M.L.I., Portsmouth, 7264, "Phœbe," slightly wounded.

No. 57.

The Marquess of Salisbury to Consul-General Moor.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, February* 24, 1897

YOUR telegram of the 22nd.

Hearty congratulations from Her Majesty's Government at the brilliant results obtained in Niger Coast Protectorate by the gallantry of the British forces engaged.

No. 58.

Admiralty to Admiral Rawson.—(Communicated by Admiralty, February 25.)

(Telegraphic.) *Admiralty, February* 25, 1897.

THE following is communicated:—

"The Queen desires to express to Admiral Rawson her great admiration of the conduct of the brave men under his command, who must all have gone through such a terribly trying time on their march to Benin, which was so successfully captured. The Queen feels so much for them all, and is most anxious to hear that the wounded, and indeed all, are doing well, for the climate, the privations, and the horrors they witnessed must have been most fearful. The Queen deeply grieves for the loss of life."

No. 59.

Foreign Office to Consul-General Moor.

Sir, *Foreign Office, February* 28, 1897.

I LAID before the Marquess of Salisbury Captain Gallwey's despatch of the 21st ultimo, giving an account of the disaster which occurred on the 4th January to Mr. Phillips' expedition to Benin city, and reporting the action taken by Captain Gallwey as soon as he received intelligence of what had occurred.

I am directed by his Lordship to inform you that he approves Captain Gallwey's action as reported by him.

I am, &c.

(Signed) FRANCIS BERTIE.

No. 60.

Admiral Rawson to Admiralty.—(*Communicated by Admiralty, March* 1.)

(Telegraphic.) *March* 1, 1897.

PLEASE convey to Her Majesty from the Admiral, Consul-General, officers, and men of the whole force their grateful thanks for Her Majesty's kind message.

Wounded doing well.

No. 61.

Admiral Rawson to Admiralty.—(*Communicated by Admiralty, March* 1.)

(Telegraphic.) *March* 1, 1897.

HER Majesty's most gracious message, conveyed in your telegram of the 25th ultimo received. Please convey to Her Majesty the expression of our deep gratitude for her approval and sympathy. I am glad to report that sick and wounded are doing well.

No. 62.

*Foreign Office to War Office.**

Sir, *Foreign Office, March* 12, 1897.

WITH reference to my letter of the 6th February, I am directed by the Marquess of Salisbury to state to you, for the information of the Secretary of State for War, that the Royal Niger Company have expressed the opinion that it is not necessary to detain the West Indian detachment any longer in the delta of the Niger.

Her Majesty's Commissioner in the Niger Coast Protectorate has been informed accordingly by telegraph, and has been instructed to communicate with the Governor of Sierra Leone as to the withdrawal of the troops and the arrangements for their transport, and to report the result to this Department.

I am, &c.

(Signed) FRANCIS BERTIE.

No. 63.

Consul-General Moor to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(*Received viâ Lagos, March* 15.)

(Telegraphic.) *March* 5, 1897.

DEFENSIVE position completing. Negotiations for surrender protracted to failure. Direction King and Chiefs ascertained. Start pursuit to-morrow.

No. 64.

Consul-General Moor to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(*Received March* 17.)

My Lord, *Calabar, February* 8, 1897.

I HAVE the honour to report my arrival on Her Majesty's ship "Theseus," accompanied by Her Majesty's ship "Forte," in the Protectorate at Brass on 3rd instant, where I found Rear-Admiral Rawson, C.B., on board Her Majesty's ship "St. George," accompanied by Her Majesty's ships "Phœbe," "Barrosa," and "Widgeon," Her Majesty's ships "Philomel" and "Alecto" having already proceeded to Benin River.

Her Majesty's ship "Magpie" and hospital ship "Malacca" were expected to arrive 8th instant.

2. I consulted with Admiral Rawson first as to the state of the Protectorate generally, and being informed of some trouble in the Bonny district at Okrica by Mr. Vice-Consul

* Also to Colonial Office.

Gallwey, requested that a gun-boat might be sent there at once. Her Majesty's ship "Widgeon" proceeded there with instructions to Mr. Acting Vice-Consul Harcourt on 3rd instant, and returned on 5th, the difficulties having been settled for the moment by time being given the Okricans to carry out the orders given them, and this they showed a disposition to do.

A sufficient force, under two officers of the Niger Coast Protectorate Force, had, by my cabled instructions, been arranged for at Brass, as also a force at Degema, under one officer, and a similar force at head-quarters—Old Calabar. A small force under non-commissioned officer has been stationed at Ediba, on Cross River. I do not anticipate the slightest danger of disturbances or difficulties arising in any part of the Protectorate during the operations against Benin city.

3. I arranged with Admiral Rawson to proceed to Benin on 4th instant. On arriving there on 5th, and collecting further information available, arrangements were made for the holding by detachment and patrol of the Gwato Creek after the destruction of Gwato Town for some miles beyond that town; and also for the holding of the Jamieson River to its source at Sapoba in the same manner, and the blocking of the road from Sapoba to Jesse, on the Ethiope River, to prevent the Bini people escaping in these directions and disturbing the country. The result of these arrangements, it is presumed, will be to drive them in a northerly direction, and a line of native spies is, therefore, to be, if possible, arranged to watch and report the directions they take; at the same time, messages are being sent to such of the tribes in the north as are known at all warning them not to harbour or assist escaping Bini people, but to give them up to Government. At a meeting of the Jekri Chiefs they are to be instructed to send their people into the outlying districts to capture escaping Bini people, handing them over to Government, and, owing to the great importance of capturing the King and his Ju Ju men, I have issued a Proclamation, copy inclosed, offering rewards for their capture, which will, I trust, meet with the approval of Her Majesty's Government.

4. On 6th instant the native troops proceeded under Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton from Warrigi to establish a base at Ceri, on the Ologbo Creek, and all other arrangements as far as practicable being completed, Admiral Rawson returned with me on steam-yacht "Ivy" to Brass on 6th instant, arriving there 7th, to send final telegrams before proceeding to commence operations, and to meet hospital ship "Malacca." It is anticipated that the advance will commence on 10th instant, and in five or six days the operations, as far as Benin City is concerned, will be completed. It is very probable, however, that an advance a considerable distance beyond the city may be requisite, which will, no doubt, be carried out by native troops; with this object these troops have been organized as an entirely separate unit in the column.

5. Yesterday evening, after sending telegram, I proceeded to Forcados, arriving this morning to take officers, carriers, &c., from steam-ship "Bathurst," and to-morrow the Admiral arrives, coming on with me in yacht to scene of operations. I shall forward despatches in continuation, giving details as opportunity offers.

I am, &c.
(Signed) R. MOOR.

Inclosure in No. 64.

Proclamation.

WHEREAS, by the orders of the King of Benin City and his Councillors, a peaceful party of Government officers, whilst proceeding to visit the King, unarmed and unescorted, have been attacked by the soldiery of the King, and seven Europeans and over 200 natives murdered:

Notice is hereby given that steps are about to be taken to punish the King and his people, and that the following rewards will be paid to any person or persons who may capture and hand over to Her Britannic Majesty's Government the persons hereafter mentioned:—

	Puncheons.
King Duboar	50
Ojomo	10
Okrigi	5
Head fetish priest	10
Five fetish priests, of whose importance I shall satisfy myself	5 each.

Further, it is hereby notified to all persons in the Benin, Warri, and adjoining districts that all persons harbouring or assisting in any way the King or any of his people will be liable to be regarded in the same light as the aforesaid King and people, and will be punished accordingly.

Given under my hand and the seal of Her Britannic Majesty's Niger Coast Protectorate this 5th day of February, 1897.

(Signed) R. MOOR,
Her Britannic Majesty's Commissioner and Consul-General.

No. 65.

Consul-General Moor to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(Received March 20.)

My Lord, *Benin City, February 24, 1897.*

IN continuation of my despatch of the 8th instant, I have the honour to report that on the 9th instant Rear-Admiral Rawson came on board steam-ship "Ivy," in Forcados, and we proceeded to Warrigi, the base of operations in the Benin River, some little distance below Sapele.

On arrival there it was found that Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton had successfully established a camp at Ciri, on the Ologbo Creek, 7 miles distant, and on the following day we visited this camp, returning to Warrigi in the evening. The entire attacking columns reached Warrigi the same evening, having transhipped from Her Majesty's ships outside Forcados into four branch steamers, hired for that purpose. I regret to say that a private of marines died from sunstroke on the way up.

The advance from Warrigi was arranged for the following morning.

The column for guarding the Jamieson River line up to Sapele had been formed from Her Majesty's ships "Phœbe," "Alecto," and "Magpie," and that for the Gwato Creek side from Her Majesty's ships "Philomel," "Barrosa," and "Widgeon," all of which ships had been able to enter Forcados Estuary and ascend the Benin River.

On the 10th instant the Gwato column took and destroyed the towns of Gilli Gilli and Gwato. During the operations Lieutenant-Commander Hunt, of Her Majesty's ship "Widgeon," and two men were severely wounded, and Captain O'Callaghan, of Her Majesty's ship "Philomel," and one man slightly.

On the 11th instant the main attacking column landed at Warrigi, and the 1st division proceeded with Head-Quarters Staff to Ciri. On this date also the Jamieson River column occupied Sapoba and the roads at back. While building stockade, Lieutenant-Commander Pritchard, of Her Majesty's ship "Alecto," and one man were killed, and the next day one man died from effects of sun and exhaustion.

On the 12th instant, it being found impossible to bridge the creek at Ologbo owing to swamp on both banks, the native troops were transported to Ologbo, a distance of 2 miles, by launch and surf-boats. A landing under Maxim fire from launch being effected, the village was eventually taken. During this operation, Captain L. C. Koe, of Niger Protectorate force, was severely wounded in arm, and three native troops slightly. With Admiral Rawson I visited Ologbo, returning for night to Ciri.

On the 13th instant, as a large force was reported collecting in Sapoba direction, reinforcements were made for Jamieson River column, and the 1st division of main column with Head-Quarters Staff crossed from Ciri to Ologbo. There was an alarm in the camp this night which turned out to be of little consequence.

On the 14th instant the 2nd division of main column crossed from Ciri to Ologbo, taking the place of the native troops who had started under Colonel Hamilton at daylight to form a camp at some cross roads 5 miles distant. The inclosed report of Colonel Hamilton gives details of this operation, during which a Company Sergeant-Major and two privates of native troops were severely wounded. During the day there were discovered in the bush around Ologbo thirty-four of the enemy's dead.

On the 15th instant the native troops moved on to the village of Ogage, 4 miles distant from cross roads, losing one private killed and one carrier, and one scout severely wounded, on the march. The 1st division with Head-Quarters Staff took up position at cross roads camp.

On the 16th instant at 2 A.M. Lieutenant Turner arrived from Ogage, and from his reports the difficulties of water supply in getting up the entire column were fully appreciated. It was therefore decided that the 2nd division should only move up as far as the

cross roads camp. The 1st division with Head-Quarters Staff moved up and joined native troops at Ogage, finding on arrival that a scout attached to reconnoitring party had just been killed.

From Ogage camp, the native troops, Head-Quarters Staff, and 1st division moved on to Awoko, a distance of 7 miles, on the 17th instant. On the march three camps of the enemy and one village were taken, a running fight being kept up the entire journey. One scout was wounded, and while making camp at Awoko a shot was fired into it, wounding one seaman slightly and a carrier severely; the latter died next day.

The camp at Awoko was left at daylight to make the journey of 8 miles to Benin city—the marching distance from Ologbo to the city being estimated at 24 miles.

During the entire day the column was in contact with the enemy, and casualties were continually occurring. About 1½ miles from the city, two fresh human sacrifices were met with in the path, the unfortunate beings having had their arms tied behind their backs and been gagged with pieces of stick. They had then been cut from the chest down and across the stomach and their entrails were hanging out. This no doubt was Ju Ju sacrifice to prevent the white man entering the town. About 1 mile from main road to town a stockade and rifle pit were met with, the former being destroyed with gun-cotton and out of the latter the enemy were quickly driven. Three small guns were found in the stockade. A short distance further on an open space was reached and from this a fire from rocket-tube and 7-prs. was opened on the city. This was subsequently found to have been well directed for the rockets and effects of shell were found in city. A quick advance was then made but heavy fire encountered just before the bush path debouched into broad main road leading to city. It took some little time to dislodge the enemy, which being effected, the column deployed into a broad road with the city about 1,000 yards distance. Up to this the advance was in skirmishing order under continuous fire from bush on right flank.

The final effort of the enemy was the discharge of two cannon from large open space in front of what were afterwards found to be some of the King's sacrificial Ju Ju compounds. The troops with a cheer charged the last 200 yards into the city, which was actually taken at about 2 o'clock. The men were much exhausted, the day having been exceptionally hot as several subsequent ones were, and water supply short.

The entire casualties of the expedition, as at present reported, are nine killed and forty-two wounded, made up as follows :—

Killed.

Lieutenant-Commander Pritchard.
Naval Surgeon Fyfe
1 chief petty officer.
1 seaman.
2 marines.
1 sergeant, Protectorate force.
1 scout.
1 carrier.

Severely Wounded.

Captain Byrne, R.M.L.I.
„ L. C. Koe, Protectorate force.
1 naval Warrant officer.
1 „ petty officer.
4 marines.
3 seamen.
9 Protectorate force (N.C.O.s and privates).
8 carriers.
3 scouts.
1 interpreter.

Slightly Wounded.

Captain O'Callaghan, Her Majesty's ship "Philomel."
3 marines.
4 seamen.
2 Protectorate force.

There may be further slight casualties from the Gwato and Jamieson River columns of which I have no knowledge.

The foregoing does not include deaths from sunstroke and exhaustion

The individual particulars of casualties among Imperial troops I have not given, as they are supplied by Rear-Admiral Rawson to the Admiralty and I have not the complete details.

The city presented the most appalling sight, particularly around the King's quarters, from which four large main roads lead to the compounds of the bigger Chiefs, the city being very scattered.

Sacrificial trees in the open spaces still held the corpses of the latest victims—seven in all were counted—and on every path a freshly-sacrificed corpse was found lying, apparently placed there to prevent pursuit. One large open space, 200 to 300 yards in length, was strewn with human bones and bodies in all stages of decomposition.

Within the walls the sight was, if possible, more terrible. Seven large sacrifice compounds were found inclosed by walls 14 to 16 feet high, each 2 to 3 acres in extent; against the end wall in each, under a roof, was raised a daïs with an earthern (clay) sacrificial altar about 50 feet long close against the wall on which were placed the gods to whom sacrifice is made—mostly being carved ivory tusks, standing upright, mounted at base, in hideously-constructed brass heads. In front of each ivory god was a small earthern mound on which the victim's forehead would apparently be placed. The altars were covered with streams of dried human blood and the stench was too frightful.

It would seem that the populace sat around in these huge compounds while the Ju Ju priests performed the sacrifices for their edification. In the various sacrifice compounds were found open pits filled with human bodies giving forth most trying odours. The first night several cases of fainting and sickness occurred owing to the stench, which was equally bad everywhere.

In one of the pits, partially under other bodies, was found a victim, still living, who, being rescued, turned out to be a servant of Mr. Gordon's, one of the members of Mr. Phillips' ill-fated expedition. At the doors and gates of houses and compounds were stinking goats and fowls, sacrificed apparently to prevent the white man entering therein.

The foregoing is but a feeble attempt to describe the horrors of this most terrible city, which after five days' continuous fatigue working with about 1,000 natives, still presents most appalling and frightful sights. In the outlying parts of the city the same sights are met and the annual expenditure of human life in sacrifice must have been enormous.

Most of the wells were also found filled with human bodies. Goats and fowls were also used for sacrifice and for the latter elaborate altars with two bronze cocks on each were found erected.

On the 19th three Jakris of the ill-fated expedition came in from bush terribly mutilated, and stated that on the approach of the troops all the remaining members who had been brought to the town were killed. The Ju Ju trees and altars were this day destroyed, and the outlying compounds of the big Chiefs commenced to be burnt, this work being completed the following day. An old Benin woman who was captured was sent out to the people telling them to come in. Six Accra men, captured in the Mahin country rubber collecting during the last few months, came in from bush heavily ironed. The effects of the late Mr. Phillips and his party were found in the King's palaver-house almost intact, but unfortunately they were subsequently destroyed by fire.

A fire, unfortunate only in that we were unprepared for it, broke out about 4 P.M. on the 21st instant and destroyed the King's and all surrounding quarters, leaving us only open camp; but the cleansing effects of it compensated fully for the destruction of shelter and loss of baggage and provisions which occurred. Fortunately, just as the force was again settling down, a carrier column under escort arrived with provisions.

The entire naval brigade left under Admiral Rawson on morning of the 22nd instant, and the native troops, under Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton, moved into the camp selected and partially prepared. There are 270 troops in all, with a complement of 350 carriers; but with escorts and a small flying column out opening roads, there will only be about 200 in camp as a rule.

On the afternoon of this day four messengers arrived from the King, begging and asking if he could come with his Chiefs to palaver. I sent message back that they could come if they wished, but I guaranteed nothing, but that hostilities should be suspended till Friday, 26th, to enable them to come. In any case, nothing could possibly be done up to that date or later, as the camp cannot be earlier completed and cleansed.

Yesterday, 23rd instant, two natives came in, rather with a view to spying, to see what line the King could take, one suggesting it being a question of paying for the massacre. They were sent away with a reassuring but evasive answer, and I am in hopes that some of the Chiefs at least may come in, in which case it will only be a matter of time to get hold of the King and his Ju Ju men.

This morning a flying column left to open the Gwato route, which messengers who were sent down on the 20th instant and returned yesterday report is now safe.

This brings the history of the operations up to date, and I now propose remaining here with entire force until the natives come in, and an attempt can be made to deal

with the affair of the massacre by native palaver, country custom being very strict in demanding an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth.

It is imperative that a most severe lesson be given the Kings, Chiefs, and Ju Ju men of all surrounding countries, that white men cannot be killed with impunity, and that human sacrifices, with the oppression of the weak and poor, must cease.

All buildings on this site, saturated as it is with the blood of human victims, will be levelled to the ground, and no building of any description will ever again be allowed to be erected thereon. If a town is again built it must be nearer the water, which is now 3 miles distant.

The success of the operations speaks more for the conduct of them than anything that I can say; but having been with Rear-Admiral Rawson and the Head-Quarters Staff from the commencement of active work, I should mention the unsparing and untiring energy displayed by both the Admiral and Flag-Captain Egerton. The work has been continuous, day and night, and all that care, forethought, and judgment could do, to insure success and spare the men as much as possible has certainly been done. From time to time, as fresh difficulties were encountered it was found necessary to vary and reorganize the original plans, but this was done with judgment and dispatch, so that no delay has on any occasion been thereby caused. Looking back, it will be found that the first news of the disaster was not communicated in London or at the Cape until the 10th January, and on the 18th February the party, having come, roughly, 5,000 miles from three different directions, entered Benin city. There was little time for preparations except such as could be ordered by telegraph; but there is no direction in which the arrangements have failed, though the expenditure has probably been unavoidably somewhat heavy. The immediate object of the expedition—the taking of Benin city—having been successfully attained, I would respectfully submit that Rear-Admiral Rawson and his staff are entitled to full recognition of their services, which will, no doubt, be duly accorded them by Her Majesty's Government. The permanent results of the operations are yet to be attained, and to this task the attention of the officials of the Protectorate is now earnestly turned. The punishment of the individuals responsible for the massacre is of these the first, for it will be an object-lesson in civilization for the poor and weak to see the rich and strong punished for misdeeds perpetrated by their orders. Civilization with protection to life and property has then to be introduced, and the country opened up to trade—this must be the work of years.

Inclosed I forward copy of letter addressed by me to Rear-Admiral Rawson on completion of the operations, and before his departure. With all requests therein the Admiral has complied.

Referring to copies of letter and inclosure from Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton, inclosed herein, I should fully wish to indorse the recommendations regarding the officers mentioned, and I would request that representations be made in the proper quarter that their services may receive due recognition.

Major Landon, Captain Walker, and Lieutenant O'Shee are special service officers, and, no doubt, if recommended by your Lordship, the War Office will duly reward their services.

Captain N. Burrows, Niger Coast Protectorate Force, is a seconded officer, being a Lieutenant in the Royal North Lancashire Regiment; also Captain C. H. P. Carter, Niger Coast Protectorate Force, is a seconded officer from Black Watch, and Captain Crauford Cockburn, from Queen's Bays. The War Office might also be able to reward these officers regimentally in some way; if not, I would suggest that their services may receive some other form of recognition.

Dr. Allman has been Principal Medical Officer of this Protectorate since 1891, and has organized the medical and sanitary staff most efficiently, and carried out his duties with care and judgment. His services are, I consider, deserving of recognition.

Major Searle is a most efficient officer in the Niger Coast Protectorate force, but not connected in any way with Her Majesty's Imperial forces. His services on this occasion should assist his advancement in the Protectorate.

Lieutenant Daniels, Niger Coast Protectorate Force, native officer. I should recommend a pecuniary reward in this case, not exceeding 15*l*.

With regard to the members of Her Majesty's navy mentioned in the despatch, Rear-Admiral Rawson will, no doubt, recommend their advancement, but I would request that these cases be also represented to the Admiralty through the Foreign Office.

I should wish particularly to bring to your Lordship's notice the tact, judgment, and foresight brought to bear by Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton in the duty intrusted to him, that of taking command of the force of the Protectorate. He from the first established a thorough understanding and friendly relations with the officers of the force, and maintained a strict discipline with all ranks, so that there has been no word of complaint nor any feeling of discontent.

Having some experience of the class of warfare carried on during these operations—that of bush fighting—I venture the opinion that the force has been most ably and effectually handled, and for this the highest praise is due to Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton and the officers under his command. The difficulties of transport and water supply have been very great, and they have been as successfully overcome as the immediate object of the expedition—the taking of Benin city—has been accomplished.

Considering the duration of the operations—seven days—and the class of warfare, the casualties cannot be considered heavy, and this is undoubtedly owing to the judgment displayed in the handling of the immediate front of the column by Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton, where the brunt of the fighting on the march was borne. I would request that the services of Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton receive their well-merited recognition.

I should further bring to your Lordship's notice the work done by Captain Vice-Consul Gallwey, D.S.O., prior to my arrival. He had concentrated the Protectorate forces at Brass, and effectually carried out telegraphic instructions I sent him from Grand Canary. He had also rendered considerable assistance in the Intelligence Department to Rear-Admiral Rawson. Since my arrival it has been necessary, owing to the failure of one officer, to attach him to the force under Colonel Hamilton, where he has loyally carried out the work of a company officer, and has, at the same time, assisted me in political work when required. His services are worthy of recognition.

I would strenuously urge that the services of all officers and men engaged in the operations be recognized by the issue of a medal and clasp, which, I submit, is most thoroughly deserved. An arduous and perilous duty has been carried out with enthusiasm and disregard of danger and privation by all ranks under most trying circumstances of climate and position of the enemy, who were, I may say, always unseen.

There is but one other point I should bring to notice, and that is the prompt and willing assistance rendered me by the Governors of Sierra Leone and the Gold Coast, Colonel Cardew and Sir William Maxwell. I found it advisable to telegraph from Grand Canary for carriers and equipment to both places, and, on arrival, found that the greatest care and trouble had been taken to comply with my requests, and everything supplied has been of the greatest service. I wish, therefore, here to place it on record that the assistance rendered has to some extent contributed to the success of the expedition.

I am, &c.

(Signed) R. MOOR.

Inclosure 1 in No. 65.

Consul-General Moor to Rear-Admiral Rawson.

Sir, *Old Calabar, February* 20, 1897.

ON behalf of the Administration of this Protectorate, I have the honour to tender to yourself, and the officers and men of Her Majesty's navy and the Royal Marines, most cordial thanks for the assistance rendered in carrying on the operations against, and the taking of, Benin city.

From personal observation, I should wish here to state that the work has been undertaken by all concerned—Her Majesty's navy, the Royal Marines, and the Protectorate force—with the greatest enthusiasm and carried out with a disregard of personal danger, hardship, and privation which is deserving of the highest praise.

Any eulogy of the Imperial forces on my part could add nothing to the honourable traditions attaching to these Services throughout the world, but I would add that these traditions have been most fully and ably sustained under the severe and trying conditions of this West African climate.

It is not within my province to deal with the work of individuals, but having been through all the operations with the Head-Quarters Staff, I cannot refrain from mentioning the continuous and arduous duties performed by Flag Captain Egerton, which no doubt are fully appreciated by you.

The operations in their result up to the present have not served in any way the ill-fated expedition of the late Consul Phillips, all the members of which, except perhaps a few natives, are, I fear, murdered; but they will, I trust, be far-reaching in doing away with a barbarism as appalling as ever witnessed by Europeans and bringing the benefits of civilization to a most wretched people.

2. With regard to the position at this moment I am satisfied that, if the Imperial troops can assist in establishing the Protectorate forces in a suitable camp and in destroying the

outlying compounds of the town, there is no necessity for them to remain later than Monday morning, 22nd instant; but I would request that the Gwato column may, if possible, be allowed to remain until such time as connection from this city can be opened up by road. This should be done at latest by Friday next, the 26th instant.

Having no news of the Jamieson River column I am unable to give an opinion as to the position in that direction, but as it was formed more particularly to keep that side of the country from rising and to cut off the retreat of the enemy, I consider that object should have been served and that the column may be with safety withdrawn.

3. I would request that two Maxim guns and one rocket-tube, with the necessary ammunition, may be left with the Protectorate forces here, as they are short in these requisites for the proper defence of the position in case of attack. When finished with they can be returned to the Cape by one of Her Majesty's gun-boats.

4. In the event of any further troubles arising here, I would request that for the next month one of Her Majesty's gun-boats be detailed to call at Forcados as often as you may consider feasible—once a-week I suggest—in order to render assistance should any be required.

5. With regard to the telegraph wire on board the "Malacca," I should be glad that 30 miles of it with requisite batteriesbe left for running wire from this to Gwato, if two operators at a distance of 25 miles would be sufficient, for otherwise I fear that the expense of working would be too great.

6. I wish to record the great courtesy and kindness extended by yourself and staff to the special service officers, the Protectorate officers, and myself during the conduct of the operations, and on behalf of those officers and myself I would tender thanks to you and your staff for the cordial relations that have existed.

I am, &c.
(Signed) R. MOOR.

Inclosure 2 in No. 65.

Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton to Consul-General Moor.

Sir, *Benin City, February* 23, 1897.

I BEG to forward you a copy of the report of the operations (12th to 18th instant) which I have addressed to the Admiral and Commander-in-chief in chief command of the Benin expeditionary force.

In addition to the officers therein mentioned, I should like to bring to your notice the excellent scouting work done by Captain Cockburn, Niger Coast Protectorate Force, before the crossing of the Ologbo Creek on the 12th instant. He has throughout shown great pluck and indefatigable energy.

Dr. Allman, the Principal Medical Officer to the force, is also deserving of commendation. His organizing power with the carriers under him and energy have been invaluable, and since our arrival here I have made him Provost Marshall.

I further wish to mention favourably to you Captain Walker, Scottish Rifles, and Lieutenant O'Shee, R.E. These two officers were sent out with me on special service, and commanded half companies of the Niger Coast Protectorate force. There was no opportunity for them to distinguish themselves from other company officers during the advance, but I have formed a high opinion of their energy and capacity, and I shall be glad if you will represent this in the proper quarter.

I have, &c.
(Signed) B. HAMILTON, *Lieutenant-Colonel,*
Commanding Niger Coast Protectorate Force.

Inclosure 3 in No. 65.

Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton to the Chief of the Staff, Benin Expeditionary Force.

Sir, *Benin City, February* 21, 1897.

I BEG to report that on the morning of the 12th February I started from Ciri Pica with the following force: 62 men Niger Coast Protectorate force, 29 men Naval Brigade, under Lieutenant Tyler, R.N., and 2 Maxims.

We steamed slowly towards Ologbo beach, firing the Maxims as we advanced to clear the bush.

Arriving at the beach at 8·10 A.M., the troops landed and advanced about 200 yards to a large clearing, where they were formed in a hollow square. The enemy at once opened fire from the edge of the bush, and we heard numbers of them shouting. As we returned the fire they retired, but repeated these attacks from time to time.

At about 9·30 A.M. Captain Koe, Lieutenant Daniels, and one man Niger Coast Protectorate force were hit, and the launch having just returned from Ciri with the second detachment, I pushed on along the bush path to the village for 500 yards with one company Houssas and one Maxim, supported by half a company Naval Brigade. This position was maintained until 12 noon, when, on the arrival of the third detachment at Ologbo beach, I advanced on the village with three companies Niger Coast Protectorate force, one company Naval Brigade, one rocket-tube, and two 7-prs. The enemy retired after a slight resistance, and we were established in village (1,100 yards from the beach) by 2 P.M.

13th instant was spent in Ologbo village getting up water and supplies.

14th instant advanced along Benin road at 6·45 A.M. with troops in order as per margin,* followed by the baggage, under guard of twelve marines and a Maxim, four scouts, and one company Houssas.

At about 10 A.M. the scouts reported the enemy in front. I passed through the scouts with one company Houssas and a Maxim, and called up one company Houssas to an ambush path running parallel to our right about 200 yards off. From this point there was a running fight, firing volleys and advancing along the two paths. The enemy replied well to our volleys, and stood wherever there was sufficient cover. We reached cross roads at 11·25 A.M.

The following casualties occurred:—

One Company Sergeant-Major, and two men Niger Coast Protectorate force wounded.

In the afternoon I proceeded with two companies Houssas, one company marines, one Maxim, and one rocket-tube along a path which the guide said led to a village I had been ordered to destroy. After going about 3 miles and finding no signs of the village I returned to camp.

February 15.—Advanced at 12 noon from cross roads, troops in the same order as on the 14th. At 1·25 P.M. we were fired into from both flanks, and, pushing forward along the path, the attack gradually extended along the whole of the line. This continued at intervals as we advanced until 3 P.M., when two rockets over their camp clearing, where we heard them assembled in front of us, appeared to put them to flight. Shortly after this Agagi village was reached.

Casualties: one private Niger Coast Protectorate force killed, one scout and one carrier wounded.

February 16.—Halted at Agagi. At 9 A.M., a party sent to look for a well under Captain Cockburn returned to camp, having been fired on on the Benin road. I immediately sent one company and a Maxim under Captain Cockburn to turn them out, and to divert attention from a large party of carriers returning to cross roads for water. In doing this, one scout, who was leading a party of men into the bush, was killed. The company returned to camp at 11·30 P.M. The Admiral and Commander-in-chief reached Agagi with the main body during the afternoon.

February 17.—The advanced force left Agagi under my command at 6·30 A.M, in the order as per margin.† The enemy cleared out in front of us as we proceeded. At one village, which we reached about 11 A.M., we were fired on, and one carrier wounded. Awako village was reached about 2 P.M. After settling down in camp a shot was fired, which wounded one carrier and one bluejacket.

February 18.—Advanced force moved off under me in the order as per margin.‡ When the head of the column appeared on the main path it was at once fired into, and desultory firing continued throughout the day. At about 10·30 Chief Protectorate Officer Ansell was shot through the head at a distance of about 6 yards and at once killed. Shortly after this two Houssas and a coast messenger were wounded. At 1 P.M. a stockade was reported in front. It was built across a causeway which led over a deep dry dyke about 30 yards wide, and it was defended by several old pieces, which were fired before we arrived close enough for them to hurt us. The stockade was blown up by Commander Bacon, R.N. About 300 yards further on an outlying village was reached,

* Scouts:—half company Niger Coast Protectorate force: 1 Maxim, 1 rocket-tube; two and-a-half companies Niger Coast Protectorate force: 1 Maxim, 2 7-prs., 1 company marines.

† Order of march, 17th:—Scouts: half company Houssas, Maxim (Houssa), 1 rocket-tube, half company Houssas, 1 company marines, 1 Maxim, stretcher party, 1 7-pr.

‡ Order of march, 18th:—half company Houssas, 1 Maxim, 1 rocket-tube, half company Houssas, stretcher party, 1 company bluejackets, 1 rocket tube, 2 7-prs., half marine battalion.

and as there was an open space I ordered some shells and rockets to be thrown in the direction of Benin, which the guide reported close at hand. (Next day I found two of these discharged rocket-heads in compounds close to the King's house.) After about half-an-hour the advance was resumed. The leading company of Houssas having run out of ammunition, I now called up the company of "St. George's" bluejackets, under Lieutenant Griffiths, R.N., to replace them. After going for about 1 mile along an ordinary bush-path a clear space was reported in front. Going forward I found Captain Barrow's Maxim in action, under a heavy fire, at a point where the bush-path debouched into a broad ride running at right angles to it. A big gun had been firing down the path at close quarters here. The bluejackets formed line on either side of the end of the path, and as more men came up the whole were formed into a hollow square, covering the point of exit. The chief fire came from the direction of the King's house to our left, where many men were seen, and a number of old cannon were firing. When the 7-pr. guns and rocket-tubes had been brought into action for a short time, an advance up the ride towards the King's house was commenced. During this advance we were continually fired into from all sides, and fired volleys in reply. The following was the formation: Front face, "St. George's" bluejackets and Houssas; right face, Houssas and a few of the marine battalion; left and rear faces, marine battalion. At about 300 yards from the King's house a big gun was fired, after which there were a few dropping shots, and the resistance seemed to collapse.

This point was reached at about 2 P.M., and as you were present I need not enter into further details.

Casualties of the advanced force as given, but also including second half marine battalion:—

(*a.*) Bluejackets and marines—one medical officer, one Chief Protectorate Officer, two marines, killed; one officer, one warrant officer, fourteen sailors and marines, wounded.

(*b.*) Houssas—four privates, one coast messenger, three carriers, wounded.

I beg to point out that the force under my command has experienced a trying march during the seven days' advance from Ciri to Benin (12th to 18th instant). The formation being single file through dense bush, and exposed to the fire of an unseen enemy during the whole period, casualties occurring every day, and the water allowance being necessarily reduced to a minimum.

The conduct of the Houssa force has been excellent throughout, the men cheerfully performing many arduous duties and fatigues, and to a great extent relieving the white troops in securing the safety of their camps.

I would especially bring to notice the excellent work done by Major Landon, A.S.C., as Commissariat and Transport Officer to the Niger Coast Protectorate force, during the whole time. Without his help its efficiency would have been greatly impaired. His arrangements under very great difficulties have been excellent, and I hope that this may be represented.

I also wish to mention Sub-Lieutenant Phibbs, R.N., who acted as my Naval Aide-de-camp, and rendered me the greatest assistance. He is an officer of sound sense and coolness in trying circumstances.

Major Searle, Niger Coast Protectorate force, who commanded the guns very efficiently, and got two bullets through his helmet on the 18th.

Captain Burrows, who worked the Maxim of the Niger Coast Protectorate force in a most plucky and efficient manner. He was with the leading company throughout, and constantly in positions of some danger.

Captain Carter, Niger Coast Protectorate force, Adjutant to the force, gave me valuable help. He also commanded a company after Captain Koe was wounded; was always at the head of his men, and showed great energy and coolness under fire.

Lieutenant Daniels, Niger Coast Protectorate force, a native officer, was invaluable whenever the troops were engaged. He behaved with great dash, and is well deserving of reward.

Mr. Johnstone, gunner (T), Her Majesty's ship "Philomel," in charge of the rocket-tube party, and was wounded on the 18th, is deserving of special mention; as also is A.B. seaman Daeth, who had charge of the 2nd Houssa Maxim throughout.

I should also like to bring to your notice the great assistance given me on all occasions by Commander Bacon, R.N., Chief Intelligence Officer, and Lieutenant Erskine, R.N., commanding the scouts.

I have, &c.

(Signed) B. HAMILTON, *Lieutenant-Colonel,*
Commanding Niger Coast Protectorate Force.

No. 66.

Consul-General Moor to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(*Received, viâ Lagos, March* 22.)

(Telegraphic.) *March* 12, 1897.

RETURNED with flying column last night. Pursuit carried through seven villages in northerly direction, about 30 miles; no attempt resistance. Found very extensive bush town building, probably 2,000 to 3,000. King's people all fled easterly direction. Burnt town. Consider action will have excellent effect. Conciliatory attitude adopted towards people on march. Leave this in four days. Fully satisfied position safe; military post 120 men in charge, with political and medical officers. Time required establish confidence, get people in, and King and Chiefs to palaver. Hope return in five weeks.

No. 67.

Consul-General Moor to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(*Received March* 27.)

(Telegraphic.) *Brass, March* 27, 1897.

THIRTY Chiefs with people already come in Benin city and made submission to Government. King expected shortly. Propose allowing country settle before holding general palaver about May. Chiefs admit heavy losses in fighting.

Special service officers sailed 21st.

Am proceeding Bonny, thence Old Calabar.

No. 68.

Admiralty to Foreign Office.—(*Received April* 7.)

Sir, *Admiralty, April* 3, 1897.

I AM commanded by the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to transmit, for the information of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, two copies of the despatches received from the Commander-in-chief on the Cape of Good Hope Station, dated the 27th February last, relative to the Benin expedition.

I am, &c.

(Signed) EVAN MACGREGOR.

Inclosure 1 in No. 68.

Rear-Admiral Rawson to Admiralty.

Sir "*St. George*," *at Forcados, February* 27, 1897

IN my letter of the 30th ultimo, I reported, for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, the arrangements I had made for a naval expedition against Benin city, in compliance with your telegram of the 15th idem; and that, in view of the absence of any reliable information in regard to Benin, and of the necessity for immediate action, I had considered it advisable to organize the expedition on the largest scale which the force at my disposal would permit.

2. Between the dates of my reaching Brass (30th ultimo), and of the arrival there of Mr. R. D. R. Moor, C.M.G., Her Majesty's Commissioner and Consul-General for the Niger Coast Protectorate (3rd instant), I obtained much valuable information about Benin, which had been collected by Captain H. L. Gallwey, D.S.O., Her Majesty's Acting Commissioner and Consul-General.

The fact of the position of Benin city having never been astronomically fixed, however, nor the country and creeks surveyed, necessitated my having to rely in a great measure upon reports from the only three natives who had ever visited the place.

3. The few white men, who have ever been to Benin, appear to have taken the route from Gwato; because, I am given to understand, the King has never permitted them to approach the city by any other road; but as it is well known that there is no water on that route; and, as there was every reason to believe, from the reports of

natives, that there was a continuation of the Ologi Creek (fresh water) at a short distance to the eastward of the city; I decided, after carefully considering the question, to form a base at Warrigi; widen the existing path from thence to Ceri, and then, if practicable, cut my way through the forest along the left bank of the Ologi Creek to within striking distance of Benin, thus insuring a good supply of water throughout the march.

4. Seeing, however, that I could obtain no reliable information as to the nature of the country through which I proposed to march, until I could place a force at Ceri, my alternative plan was to cross the creek at Ceri by a wire suspension bridge which I had prepared to throw across (the creek here being 50 yards wide and 14 feet deep, with a strong current); to establish a depôt at Ologbo Beach, and then cut my way through the forest from thence to Benin, should there be no suitable road.

5. In this decision, Her Majesty's Consul-General and Lieutenant-Colonel B. M. Hamilton concurred; and I also arranged, after consultation with them, that, about the date of the expedition landing at Warrigi, two separate forces should be detached:—

One, under Captain M. P. O'Callaghan, of Her Majesty's ship "Philomel," to destroy Gwato; then advance to Eggbini; hold that place until the 14th instant; and then occupy and hold Ikoro.

The other, under Captain T. MacGill, of Her Majesty's ship "Phœbe," to stockade and hold a position 4 miles above Sapoba.

By dispatching these separate expeditions, it was considered that two objects would be attained—

(1.) To divert the enemy's attention from the intended direction of the attack on the city; and

(2.) To prevent the escape of fugitives to the eastward or westward into, what are now, peaceful districts.

6. Whilst awaiting the arrival of the transport "Malacca" (on the 8th instant), all carriers procurable (2,160) were collected and sent to Warrigi, where a base was established, and stores for the expedition landed.

Her Majesty's ships "Philomel," "Phœbe," "Barrosa," "Widgeon," "Magpie," and "Alecto" were sent up the Benin River, and the "St. George," "Theseus," and "Forte" anchored off the mouth of the Forcados River.

I also hired four light draught steamers from Lagos for service as transports in the river and creeks.

7. The Niger Coast Protectorate troops were, in the meantime, moved up to Warrigi, with a party of native road-makers, to complete the road to Ceri, and to form a camp there for the whole force, thus enabling the bluejackets and marines to march to Ceri the same day they were to land at Warrigi.

This work was satisfactorily completed by the 8th instant; consequently, when the "Malacca" arrived off Forcados, on the evening of that day, the expedition was ready to start.

8. By the "Malacca" I received your Confidential letter of the 23rd January, 1897, conveying their Lordships' directions in regard to the organization and objects of the expedition; and also giving the opinions of certain officers and others as to the maximum force which they thought necessary for the purpose.

As this estimate was considerably less than the force I had arranged to land (see my letter of the 30th ultimo), and as I felt sure their Lordships would wish as few bluejackets and marines as possible to be sent on an expedition where much sickness might be expected, I decided, after consultation with the Consul-General, to reduce the landing party from Her Majesty's ships to 700 fighting men—a force thought to be rather larger than actually necessary to meet the enemy, but considered desirable with a view to the future moral effect throughout the whole Niger Coast Protectorate.

9. On the 9th instant, the landing parties from Her Majesty's ships "St. George," "Theseus," and "Forte," and the Royal Marines from the transport "Malacca," were conveyed in the four hired steamers, viâ Forcados and Nana Creek to Warrigi, where they arrived the next afternoon.

10. The following day I landed at Warrigi, and marched with the whole force to Ceri.

11. Lieutenant-Colonel B. M. Hamilton, with the Niger Coast Protectorate troops, had, before my arrival at Ceri, ascertained that any advance from that place, along either bank of the Ologi Creek, was impracticable owing to swamps.

I therefore had to adopt the alternative route mentioned in paragraph 4.

12. On the morning of the 12th instant I commenced to move the force from Ceri,

up the Ologi Creek in boats, to Ologbo landing-place (a distance of about 2 miles, and on the opposite bank of the creek), Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton being in command of the advance guard, composed of two companies of Houssas and one company of bluejackets from Her Majesty's ship "Theseus," under Lieutenant H. A. S. Fyler, of that ship.

Here the enemy made their first stand, but, after a short engagement, were driven up a forest path beyond the village of Ologbo (about a-mile to the northward of the landing-place), which was then occupied.*

13. On the 14th instant, the whole force, carriers, and supplies, having been moved to Ologbo landing-place, the scouts and advance guard (then composed of the Houssas and Marines from Her Majesty's ship "Theseus," under Captain G. L. Beaumont, R.M.L.I., of that ship), advanced from Ologbo village along a path leading in the direction of Benin city.

After proceeding about 4 miles, the scouts reported the enemy in front.

From this point there was a running fight, our men firing volleys and advancing at the double,* the enemy making a stand whenever there was sufficient cover, and replying briskly to our volleys from flanking paths, which they had cut parallel to the main path, until "Cross Roads" (a position 4 miles to the northward of Ologbo) was reached and occupied, this place being apparently the enemy's main camp.

14. As I had received reports from the detached forces at Gwato and Sapoba of the enemy's determined stand there, and reinforcements having been requested at both places; also seeing that the enemy had not only shown an intention of upposing our advance throughout the whole march on the city, but that they had proved themselves much better acquainted with the method of bush fighting than was generally supposed, I deemed it advisable to call up the remainder of the force as originally organized (see paragraph 1), especially in view of the long line of communication with the base, which would have to be protected.

15. On the 10th instant, Captain M. P. O'Callaghan, with a force from the "Philomel," "Barrosa," and "Widgeon," occupied and destroyed Gilli Gilli and Gwato.

He was unopposed at the former place.

At the latter, he found the town deserted, and saw nothing of the enemy until half the place had been burnt, when a heavy fire was opened upon him from the neighbouring forest,* which it took nearly an hour to silence. Captain M. P. O'Callaghan then destroyed the remainder of the town, and re-embarked his force with a view to carrying out his orders to advance to Eggbini and Ikoro on the arrival of the reinforcements, which he considered desirable in view of the enemy having collected in considerable numbers near Gwato.

On receiving this communication, however, I decided that the object would, under the circumstances, be better attained by directing Captain O'Callaghan, after being reinforced, to reoccupy and hold Gwato, instead of advancing to Eggbini and Ikoro.

This was accordingly done on the 16th instant, without opposition, and steps were at once taken to fortify the camp, and to clear away the bush surrounding it. Shortly afterwards, however, the enemy opened fire from the forest,* which was continued at intervals until the evening, and repeated several times during the 17th and 18th, when the enemy finally retreated.

16. On the 11th instant, the other force, under Captain MacGill (with men drawn from the "Phœbe," "Alecto," and "Magpie"), which had proceeded up the Jamieson River to Sapoba, built a stockade 4 miles to the northward of that place, where the main road from Benin branches in two directions.

Here the party employed in building the stockade were attacked from the neighbouring forest, and a sharp engagement took place before the enemy were driven away.*

This force was again attacked on the morning of the 20th instant, but the enemy were repulsed after a short engagement.*

17. On the 15th instant, Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton, with the scouts and advanced guard, left "Cross Roads" camp, and advanced along the Benin path.

After he had proceeded about 4 miles, the enemy attacked both flanks, and continued firing at intervals from the dense forest until their camp at Agagi (a-mile further on) was reached. The enemy then retreated, and the place was occupied without further opposition.*

18. It had been anticipated that there would be water at Agagi, suitable, at any rate, for the carriers, but as all the wells there were found to be dry, and each house

* See list of casualties, Inclosure 2 in No. 68.

provided with chatties, it appeared that the natives had been obliged to store their water.

19. The question of the water supply for both fighting force and carriers became, therefore, a very serious one—since none could be found between Agagi and Ologbo Beach (10 miles), and it was improbable that there would be any between Agagi and Benin (12 miles), which subsequently proved to be the case.

20. To keep up a sufficient supply of water for the force and carriers, which I had intended to take on to Benin, would have entailed great delay, which, at that stage of the march, I considered it a matter of the greatest importance to avoid, if possible.

I therefore decided to push on at once by forced marches to Benin, with a flying column, taking three days' water (at the rate of two quarts for each officer or man, and one quart for carriers per day), also four days' provisions, with the necessary ammunition, &c., the remainder of the force and supplies being left at Cross Roads camp and Ologbo Beach.

21. On the 16th instant, the flying column, composed as follows, was assembled at Agagi:—

40—Scouts, under Lieutenant S. E. Erskine, Her Majesty's ship "Philomel," and Mr. Turner, of the Niger Coast Protectorate.

240—Niger Coast Protectorate troops, with two 7-pr. guns and a Maxim, under Lieutenant-Colonel B. M. Hamilton.

60—A company of seamen from Her Majesty's ship "St. George," with a Maxim, under Lieutenant Llewellyn Griffiths, of that ship.

10—Rocket and demolition party.

60—Marines, with a Maxim, from the transport "Malacca," under Captain G. T. Byrne, R.M.L.I.

60—Marines from Her Majesty's ship "Theseus," with a Maxim, under Captain Beaumont, R.M.L.I., of that ship.

The whole of the Royal Marines being under the command of Major T. H. de M. Roche, R.M.L.I., of Her Majesty's ship "St. George."

60—Bluejackets, with a Maxim, from Her Majesty's ship "Theseus."

The Protectorate troops being short of officers, I lent Sub-Lieutenant J. A. Gregory, of Her Majesty's ship "Theseus," and Sub-Lieutenant B. O. F. Phibbs, of Her Majesty's ship "St. George," for duty with them.

My personal and general staff consisted of:—

Captain G. Le C. Egerton, of Her Majesty's ship "St. George," Chief of the Staff.

Lieutenant W. N. England, Flag Lieutenant, Aide-de-camp and Camp Master.

Commander R. H. S. Bacon, of Her Majesty's ship "Theseus," Chief of Intelligence Department, who was also placed in the advance guard with Lieutenont-Colonel Hamilton.

Lieutenant Stuart Nicholson, of Her Majesty's ship "St. George," who was in charge of the arrangements for the water supply.

Lieutenant R. G. Gregory, of Her Majesty's ship "St. George," Staff Officer.

The carriers were in charge of Lieutenant E. R. Pears, of Her Majesty's ship "Forte," and Lieutenant W. H. Cowan, of Her Majesty's ship "Barrosa."

The medical officers were:—

Staff-Surgeon J. McC. Martin, of Her Majesty's ship "Forte."

Staff-Surgeon E. R. Dimsey, of Her Majesty's ship "Phœbe;" and

Surgeon C. J. Fyfe, of Her Majesty's ship "St. George."

Mr. R. D. R. Moor, C.M.G., Her Majesty's Commissioner and Consul-General, and Captain Child, of the Niger Coast Protectorate yacht "Ivy," accompanied the head-quarters.

Lieutenant-Colonel B. M. Hamilton was placed in command of the advance guard, and Captain C. Campbell, C.B., of Her Majesty's ship "Theseus," in command of the rear guard, the marines from the "Malacca" forming a reserve under my own immediate orders.

22. Leaving Agagi at 6·30 A.M. on the 17th instant, the flying column cut itself free from the base and advanced to Awoka, arriving there at 2 P.M., after having been harassed the whole way by constant attacks from the bush, the advance being necessarily very slow.*

That night the camp was fired into.*

23. On the 18th instant the column left Awoko at 6·30 A.M., the only alteration

* See list of casualties, Inclosure 1 in No. 68.

in the formation of the column being that the marines of Her Majesty's ship "Theseus" (who up to this point had been with the advance guard) now changed positions with the "St. George's" A company.

During the whole of this day the head and both flanks of the column were constantly attacked.*

At 1 P.M. a stockade was come across commanding a narrow causeway with a deep ravine on each side, and defended by a few guns. These were silenced, and the stockaded path cleared with gun-cotton.

About 300 yards further on, as the enemy appeared to be in considerable force in front, a halt was made, and the 7-prs. and rockets were fired with extreme elevation over the supposed strongest position of the enemy, and where Benin City was thought to be.

About a mile beyond this we suddenly emerged from the bush path into a causeway about 50 yards wide, running at right angles to our path, with dense bush on each side. Here a very heavy fire was opened upon our men, and the enemy were for the first time actually seen, a body of them attempting to charge the head of our column as we advanced out of the narrow bush path; a Maxim, however, and a few volleys from the "St. George's" A company soon drove them back into the bush. There were also some heavy guns fired from the causeway which surrounded the King's compound.

An advance was at once made along the road to the King's Palace under a rather heavy fire from both sides, which, at such close quarters, did us considerable damage.*

The King's compound was then occupied, the killed and wounded brought in, the carrier column and rear guard marched up from the narrow path, where they had been halted until the enemy had been cleared out, and the men's water bottles filled, leaving us with only one quart of water per man as a reserve.

The heat along this causeway was terrific; and the men (who had been marching from 6·30 A.M. to 2·30 P.M.) were much exhausted; but I am proud to report that not a single officer or man fell out from his place after leaving "Cross Roads."

24. All tents and coverings having been left behind, the best arrangements possible were made to shelter the men for the night.

25. At daylight on the 19th instant, two-thirds of the force, with all the carriers, were sent off as a water party; the remainder of the force defending the camp.

The water party returned in about three hours, having found a very good running stream about 2 miles distant.

26. In the afternoon a strong force was marched out and destroyed Chief Ijuma's compound.

27. Orders had been sent to Ologbo Beach for provisions and ammunition to be forwarded on to Benin; also for the "St. George's" steam pinnace and two Jakri canoes to try and find their way by the Ologi Creek to the city, with a view of conveying the wounded down by water. The command of this party was given to Lieutenant T. F. Michell, of Her Majesty's ship "St. George," whose report is attached (Inclosure 9).

28. I had intended returning with the whole force on the 20th instant; but as the Protectorate troops were short of ammunition and had no stores up with them, I deemed it necessary to place them in a defensible position before I left the city. I therefore remained until the morning of the 22nd.

29. The 20th and 21st were occupied in preparing a defensive position for the Protectorate force, and in getting water for our march down.

30. Two parties were sent out to destroy the Queen-Mother's and Chief Ichudi's compounds; also the sacrificial and crucifixion trees, and the whole of the Ju Ju houses.

31. The King, with all the inhabitants, having disappeared, I was unable to carry out their Lordships' wish that he should be captured.

32. We heard, from some liberated slaves, that no white prisoners had been brought to Benin city; but all the effects of the late ill-fated expedition were found in the King's palace.

33. The Protectorate ammunition and stores arrived on the night of the 20th instant.

34. At 4 P.M., on the 21st instant, a fire started by carriers, spread in a few minutes over the whole town, and by the promptitude of Captain Campbell, of Her Majesty's ship "Theseus," the wounded were got out while the temporary hospital was actually on fire.

* See list of casualties, Inclosure 2 in No. 68.

Some arms, ammunition, and most of our provisions were burnt. Fortunately, however, the "Forte's" company, under Lieutenant F. R. Harrold, arrived within an hour with a fresh supply, and the whole white force was thus enabled to start for the base on the morning of the 22nd instant.

35. I left, for the use of the Protectorate force, two Maxims and one rocket-tube, with the necessary ammunition; also the Martini-Henry rifles which had been issued to the scouts.

I also transferred to them two of the four days' provisions brought up by the "Forte's" company.

36. The base at Warrigi was reached on the 24th, after a trying return journey for the wounded; who, however, were safely brought down.

37. The whole of the force were re-embarked by the evening of the 27th instant.

38. The Sapoba force, under Captain MacGill, re-embarked and returned to Warrigi on the 25th instant.

39. The Gwato force, under Captain O'Callaghan, re-embarked in their ships on the 27th instant.

40. As on the march up, so on the march down, not a single officer or man of the flying column fell out.

41. I much regret to have to report the following casualties during the expedition—as detailed in Inclosure 2:—

(*a.*) Killed in action: 2 officers, 8 men (5 whites, 3 blacks).

(*b.*) Wounded in action: 6 officers (incluing one native officer), 44 men (22 whites, 22 blacks).

(*c.*) Deaths from the effect of climate: 1 officer, 4 men (whites).

(*d.*) Deaths from accident: 1 man (white), 1 man (black).

(*e.*) 72 cases of small-pox occurred amongst the native carriers.

42. In an expedition like this has been, where unusual hardships have been endured from excessive heat, forced marches, shortness of water, and even of provisions—to say nothing of the whole march having been harassed by an unseen enemy—I consider that every officer and man under my command has merited the highest praise; and, although I am aware that only a comparative few can hope to be rewarded at present, I feel it my duty to place on record the names of many others also who have done such good work, that I trust their Lordships will, in any case, bear them in mind for future reward.

I therefore wish to bring to their Lordships' notice the following officers individually, who have shown themselves deserving of special recognition:—

My personal staff, who accompanied me on the expedition, viz.:—

Mr. William H. Rowe, my Secretary.

Lieutenant William N. England, Flag Lieutenant (who also carried out the duties of Camp Master*).

Mr. Herbert S. Measham, Assistant Paymaster (Secretary's Clerk).

Mr. Thomas W. S. Seath, Assistant Clerk (Secretary's Clerk).

From all of whom I have received the greatest assistance during a time of very severe pressure.†

Captain George Le C. Egerton, of Her Majesty's ship "St. George," who, as Chief of the Staff, organized and carried out his duties with such zeal and energy that it is not too much to say that the whole success of the expedition has resulted from the work he has done.

Captain M. P. O'Callaghan, of Her Majesty's ship "Philomel," and Captain T. MacGill, of Her Majesty's ship "Phœbe," each had command of a separate force—the former at Gwato, the latter at Sapobo—and engaged the enemy entirely independently of the main force. The positions they held on either flank took off the attention of large numbers of the enemy, who would otherwise have been opposed to the flying column.

Captain Charles Campbell, C.B., of Her Majesty's ship "Theseus," commanded the rear-guard at the attack on the city, and by his prompt action at the fire which broke out on the 21st instant, saved the lives of the wounded.‡

Captain R. F. O. Foote, of Her Majesty's ship "Forte," had command of the Second Division, and did good work, being left behind to clear out the several bases.

Commander J. Startin, of Her Majesty's ship "Barrosa," was in command of the

* When my office staff were sick, Lieutenant England also gave his services to help.—H. H. R.

† My staff, though often sick themselves, worked on, and Mr. Rowe's services have been invaluable.—H. H. R.

‡ Was indefatigable and always ready for work.—H. H. R.

road cutters, and worked indefatigably to clear the way to Ceri. He was then sent round to Gwato to join Captain O'Callaghan's force by whom he is also very favourably mentioned. (See Inclosure 4.)

Commander W. Stokes-Rees, of Her Majesty's ship "St. George," was in charge of the carrier column and Commissariat; and by his energetic and continuous work, enabled the force to be moved with promptitude.

Commander R. H. S. Bacon, of Her Majesty's ship "Theseus," did most excellent work as Chief of the Intelligence Department, and managed to collect much valuable information regarding the route to Benin city, from what appeared to be a sterile source. His plans and reports will be found in Inclosure 3. He was in theadvance guard the whole time with Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton.

Commander H. H. Torlesse, of Her Majesty's ship "St. George," was in command at the base.

On Lieutenant Stuart Nicholson, of Her Majesty's ship "St. George," who had charge of the water supply, the whole safety of the expedition depended, and I would strongly call their Lordships' attention to this officer.

Lieutenant E. R. Pears, of Her Majesty's ship "Forte," and Lieutenant W. H. Cowan, of Her Majesty's ship "Barrosa," were in charge of the carriers. Their work was beyond all praise, and the way they managed to organize, out of chaos, the carriers from different tribes, was most creditable.

Lieutenant S. E. Erskine, of Her Majesty's ship "Philomel," was in command of the scouts, and not only had the post of danger throughout, but did his work extremely well.

Lieutenant Llewellyn Griffiths, of Her Majesty's ship "St. George," who was in command of the "St. George's" Company was leading during the last day, and, with the Houssas and marines from the "Malaca," bore the brunt of the fighting.

Lieutenant H. A. S. Fyler, of Her Majesty's ship "Theseus," had command of the company from that ship at the attack on Ologbo Beach.

Lieutenant H. V. W. Elliott, of Her Majesty's ship "Magpie, and Lieutenant F. W. Kennedy, of Her Majesty's ship "Phœbe," are both mentioned in Captain MacGill's despatch (Inclosure 5).

Lieutenant M. R. Hill, of Her Majesty's ship "Barrosa," and Lieutenant E. J. Newman, R.N.R., of Her Majesty's ship "Philomel," are both mentioned in Captain O'Callaghan's despatch (Inclosure 4).

Lieutenant F. R. Harrold, of Her Majesty's ship "Forte," brought the company of that ship, with stores, up to Benin city at a most opportune moment.

I would specially recommend Sub-Lieutenant B. O. F. Phibbs, of Her Majesty's ship "St. George," Sub-Lieutenant J. A. Gregory, of Her Majesty's ship "Theseus," and Sub-Lieutenant E. O. Gladstone, of Her Majesty's ship "Alecto." The two former did excellent service with the Houssas; and the latter was invaluable at the base.

Major T. H. Roche, R.M.L.I., of Her Majesty's ship "St. George," was in command of the Royal Marines.

Captain G. T. Byrne, R.M.L.I., in command of the marines from the "Malacca," was very severely wounded at the taking of the city.*

Captain G. L. Beaumont, R.M.L.I., was in command of the marines of Her Majesty's ship "Theseus."†

Fleet-Surgeon M. Fitzgerald organized the Medical Department, and rendered me every assistance.

Staff-Surgeons E. R. Dimsey, of Her Majesty's ship "Phœbe," and J. McC. Martin, of Her Majesty's ship "Forte," were with the flying column, and upon them fell the whole work of attending the wounded and bringing them down.

Surgeon R. T. A. Levinge, of Her Majesty's ship "Alecto," is specially mentioned in Captain MacGill's despatch (Inclosure 5).

Surgeon C. S. Facey, of Her Majesty's ship "Widgeon," is mentioned in Captain O'Callaghan's despatch (Inclosure 4).‡

Surgeon F. H. A. Clayton, of Her Majesty's ship "St. George," although ill himself, worked most assiduously with the sick.

Mr. Wm. Johnston, torpedo gunner, of Her Majesty's ship "Philomel," is

* After Captain Byrne was wounded, Lieutenant Diblie and Lieutenant Robinson commanded sections of the marines.—H. H. R.

† Is also mentioned by Dr. Martin in assisting the wounded.—H. H. R.

‡ Staff-Surgeon Gipps and all the Medical Officers of the expedition have been most indefatigable in their ttention to the sick and wounded.—H. H. R.

specially mentioned by Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton for his services with the advance guard; and I wish to bring his name to their Lordships' particular notice.

Mr. G. Jeans, gunner, Mr. T. G. Mobbs, boatswain, and Mr. S. J. Lacey, carpenter—all of Her Majesty's ship "St. George"—did excellent work. Mr. Jeans with the "St. George's" Company at the taking of Benin; Mr. Mobbs, at Ologbo Beach; and Mr. Lacey with the pioneer party.

Mr. Robert Brown, torpedo gunner, of Her Majesty's ship "Penelope," is mentioned in Captain O'Callaghan's despatch (Inclosure 4).

Mr. Wm. Trew, Fleet-Paymaster, of Her Majesty's ship "St. George," was stationed at Warrigi, as Chief Accountant Officer of the expedition.

Mr. T. J. Stovin, Staff-Paymaster, of Her Majesty's ship "Philomel," was Commissariat Officer on shore, and did exceedingly good work.

Mr. W. Morshead, Assistant-Paymaster, of Her Majesty's ship "Theseus," accompanied the flying column to Benin City as commissariat officer. I cannot speak too highly of this officer's services, and desire to bring his name to their Lordships' special notice.

Mr. F. H. Gerty, Assistant-Paymaster, of Her Majesty's ship "Phœbe," is highly commended for the energetic manner in which he assisted in Commissariat and other duties at the base.

Mr. F. Main, Engineer, of Her Majesty's ship "St. George," did exceedingly good work with the pioneer and bridge party.

I wish to draw their Lordships' attention to the conspicuous gallantry displayed by Richard J. Tiddy, Petty Officer, 1st Class (official number 137123), of Her Majesty's ship "Alecto," as reported by Captain McGill in his despatch (Inclosure 5).

Also to the exemplary behaviour, whilst working the Maxim gun, of James D. B. Death, able seaman (official number 169123), of Her Majesty's ship "Theseus," as reported by Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton in his despatch (Inclosure 6).

Sergeant Charles Burrill, R.M.L.I., Ch./3357, of Her Majesty's ship "Philomel," is highly mentioned in Captain O'Callaghan's despatch (Inclosure 4).

Lieutenant-Colonel B. M. Hamilton has, during the expedition, rendered me every assistance—not only by his advice, which has always been sound, but in command of the advance guard he has had to carry out most of the fighting. His arrangements were judicious, and the slight loss we sustained I consider due to his knowledge of bush fighting. He has shown great tact and judgment in his treatment of the Niger Coast Protectorate Forces; and I submit that his services may be reported to the War Office.

Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton has reported (Inclosure 6) on the work done by the Niger Coast Protectorate Force, and the Special Service officers who came out with him. I entirely indorse his recommendations, and trust that the War Office may be pleased to recognize the services of the officers mentioned.

From my personal observation, I wish to mention the names of the following officers of the Niger Coast Protectorate:—

Captain H. L. Gallwey, D.S.O., from whom I received great assistance before Mr. Moor's arrival, and who was able to give me most valuable information.

Captain W. Burrows, who, with Captain Cockburn, ascertained the nature of the country between Ceri and Ologbo Beach on both sides of the creek.

Mr. A. H. Turner, who was with Lieutenant Erskine in the scouts.

Major A. G. Leonard, who was attached to the carrier column.

To Captain Child, of the Niger Coast Protectorate yacht "Ivy," my thanks are specially due for the valuable assistance he rendered in personally steering the Protectorate launch used in the transport of the force from Ceri to Ologbo Beach, and whose work was continuous throughout two days.

Dr. R. D'Arcy Irvine volunteered for, and was attached to, the Sapoba force. He was also most assiduous in his attention to our sick at Warrigi, when there was no naval medical officer present.

Also I am deeply indebted to his Excellency Colonel Cardew, Governor of Sierra Leone, for his prompt action in arranging for the collection of carriers at that place, without which the expedition would not have been possible, seeing that only very few were procurable elsewhere. The organization and shipment of these carriers was carried out most ably by Captain Thring, Naval Agent at Sierra Leone, and I trust their Lordships will convey to the War Office my high appreciation of his services on this occasion.

Finally, I wish to record my very high opinion of the decision of character of Mr. R. D. R. Moor, C.M.G., Her Majesty's Commissioner and Consul-General for the

Niger Coast Protectorate. His great knowledge of the country enabled him to give me very sound advice, and I am indebted to him in very many ways for his very able assistance, which tended so greatly to the success of the expedition.

43. I have considered it my duty to specially mention, what may appear, at first sight, a large number of officers, but the duties of the expedition have necessarily been so varied, and its organization so hurried, that a vast amount of work fell upon all the officers employed in the different departments.

Their Lordships will, perhaps, more fully realize this when it is remembered that Benin city was taken within five weeks of the receipt of the telegram ordering the expedition to be organized, and that the force only met for the first time, from widely different parts of the world, the evening before the expedition started up the river.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HARRY H. RAWSON, *Rear-Admiral, Commander-in-chief.*

Inclosure 2 in No. 68.

LIST of Casualties during the Benin Expedition.

Name (Official Number in case of Men).	Rank or Rating.	Ship or Corps.	Nature of Injury or Disease.	Remarks.
AT Gwato, on the 10th February, 1897.				
M. P. O'Callaghan	Captain	"Philomel"	Slightly wounded.	
Ed. D. Hunt	Lieutenant and Commander	"Widgeon"	Severely wounded.	
Daniel Halloran O.N. 118084	Petty Officer, 1st Class	Ditto	Ditto.	
George Beverton O.N. 155139	A.B.	Ditto	Ditto.	
Harry E. Baker O.N. 172539	A.B.	"Philomel"	Slightly wounded.	
AT Gwato, on the 16th February, 1897.				
Wm. McCarthy O.N. 128627	A.B.	"Barrosa"	Slightly wounded.	
AT Gwato, on the 17th February, 1897.				
Wm. F. Armstrong Ply./6282	Bugler, R.M.L.I.	"Barrosa"	Slightly wounded.	
Wm. H. Baser O.N. 118641	Leading Seaman	"Philomel"	Ditto.	
AT Gwato, on the 18th February, 1897.				
One	Carrier (native)		Slightly wounded.	
AT Stockade near Sapoba, on the 11th February, 1897.				
Chas. E. Pritchard	Lieutenant and Commander	"Alecto"	Killed.	
Ar. W. Cheverall O.N. 147439	A.B.	Ditto	Ditto.	
Rd. J. Tiddy O.N. 137123	Petty Officer, 1st Class	Ditto	Severely wounded.	

Name (Official Number in case of men).	Rank or Rating.	Ship or Corps.	Nature of Injury or Disease.	Remarks.
At Stockade near Sapoba, on the 20th February, 1897.				
Frank Stentiford Ply./3774	Private, R.M.L.I.	"Phœbe"	Killed.	
John Corcoran Ply./7214	Ditto	Ditto	Slightly wounded.	
William Scott Ports./7264	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.	
(*En route* to Benin City.)				
At Ologbo Beach, on the 12th February, 1897.				
L. C. Koe	Captain	Niger Coast Protectorate Force	Severely wounded.	
J. Daniels	Lieutenant (native)	Ditto	Slightly wounded.	
Three	Houssas (private)	Ditto	Ditto.	
(*En route* to Benin City.)				
At Cross Roads, on the 14th February, 1897.				
One	Houssa (Sergeant-Major)	Niger Coast Protectorate Force	Severely wounded.	
One	Houssa (private)	Ditto	Ditto.	
One	Ditto	Ditto	Slightly wounded.	
(*En route* to Benin City.)				
At Agagi, on the 15th February, 1897.				
One	Houssa (private)	Niger Coast Protectorate Force	Killed.	
One	Scout (native)	Scouts	Severely wounded.	
One	Carrier (native)		Ditto.	
***En route* to Benin City, on the 16th February, 1897.**				
One	Scout (native)	Scouts	Killed.	
***En route* to Benin City on the 17th February, 1897.**				
Robert Dye. O.N. 131263	A.B.	"St. George"	Slightly wounded.	
One	Carrier (native)		Dangerously wounded (since dead).	
One	Scout (native)	Scouts	Severely wounded.	
Outside Benin City, on the 18th February, 1897.				
Charles J. Fyfe, M.B.	Surgeon	"St. George"	Killed.	
Sydney Ansell O.N. 98504	Chief Petty Officer, Torpedo Instructor	Ditto	Ditto.	
E. Howlett R.M.A. 5254	Gunner, R.M.A.	Marine Battalion Transport "Malacca"	Ditto.	
Alfred Varndell Ports./3193	Private, R.M.L.I.	Ditto	Ditto.	
Gervis T. Byrne	Captain, R.M.L.I.	Ditto	Seriously wounded.	
Wm. Johnston	Gunner (T.)	"Philomel"	Ditto.	
W. Simister R.M.A./1982	Gunner, R.M.A.	Royal Marine Battalion "Malacca"	Ditto.	
A. A. Targett R.M.A./3404	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.	

Name (Official Number in case of Men).	Rank or Rating.	Ship or Corps.	Nature of Injury or Disease.	Remarks.
OUTSIDE Benin City on 18th February, 1897—(*continued*).				
Tom J. Samels .. Ports./5251	Private, R.M.L.I. ..	Royal Marine Battalion "Malacca"	Seriously wounded.	
George Hooper .. Ports./1426	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.	
Henry Grant .. O.N. 130990	Petty Officer, 2nd Class	"St. George" ..	Ditto.	
George Green .. O.N. 141856	A.B.	Ditto	Ditto.	
Four	Houssas (privates) ..	Niger Coast Protectorate Force	Ditto.	
One	Scout (native) ..	Scouts	Ditto.	
One	Interpreter (native) ..	..	Ditto.	
Six	Carriers (natives) ..	..	Ditto.	
Wm. Seaward .. O.N. 118328	Petty Officer, 1st Class .	"St. George" ..	Slightly wounded.	
George A. Smith .. O.N. 147654	A.B.	Ditto	Ditto.	
S. Denman R.M.A./5249	Gunner, R.M.A. ..	Marine Battalion "Malacca"	Ditto.	
T. H. Jones.. .. R.M.A./1665	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.	
Ernest C. Palmer .. Ports./5471	Private, R.M.L I. ..	Ditto	Ditto.	
Tom Sedgwick .. O.N. 144273	A.B.	"St. George" ..	Ditto.	
ON various Dates—from effects of Climate or Accident.				
Colin Mill.. .. Ply./1962	Private, R.M.L.I. ..	"Theseus"	Sunstroke	On the 10th February, 1897, in Benin River.
Henry Cook .. O.N. 142525	A.B.	"Alecto"	Died from heat apoplexy	On the 11th February, 1897, at stockade near Sapoba.
Thomas Baker .. Ch./5119	Private, R.M.L.I. ..	Marine Battalion Transport "Malacca"	Died from sunstroke..	On the 17th February, 1897, at Ologbo Beach Camp.
Richard H. Way ..	Surgeon, R.N. ..	From Transport "Malacca"	Died from heat apoplexy	On the 21st February, 1897, at Warrigi Camp.
Robert Murray .. Ply./3803	Private, R.M.L.I. ..	"St. George" ..	Died from remittent fever	On the 26th February, 1897, in the Benin River.
William B. Heath .. Ch./4809	Ditto	"Forte"	Drowned.	On the 25th February, 1897, fell overboard from transport in Benin River.
One	Carrier (Head Man) (native)	..	Ditto	On the 26th February, 1897, whilst embarking stores in Olongi Creek.

Inclosure 3 in No. 68.

Commander Bacon to Rear-Admiral Rawson.

Sir, *Warrigi, February 27, 1897.*

I HAVE the honour to forward the following inclosures containing information with reference to the late expedition to Benin:—

Inclosure 1 is a general chart of the adjoining country, and attached are some explanatory notes as to its probable accuracy. I regret that as my sextant was left behind during my absence with the advance guard, when the head-quarter baggage was reduced, I was unable to fix, astronomically, the position of Benin.

Inclosure 2 is a sketch plan and description of Benin city.

Inclosure 3 is a survey of the ground near Ceri and Ologbo, the result of surveys on the river and in the bush, and of the reconnaissance in force by Colonel Hamilton. The rotten banks led to the abandonment of the bridge and the subsequent laborious water transport.

Inclosure 4 deals with the rough location of tribes and countries adjacent to Benin.

Inclosure 5 gives the disposition of the force under Colonel Hamilton at the taking of Ologbo.

Inclosure 6 deals with a few points as to the fighting capabilities and methods of the enemy.

I am, &c.

(Signed) REGINALD H. BACON.

Sub-Inclosure 1.

The latitude and longitude of Sapoba, Ceri, and Gwato were fixed astronomically but otherwise the chart lays claim to no great accuracy.

The position of Benin may be assumed to be fairly accurate.

At the commencement of the expedition the relative position of none of these places were known, being merely the result of surveys of creeks, some of them 35 miles long, and no astronomical fixing at all.

The positions of Ekette and Icoro are merely dotted in, as their position is known to no degree of accuracy.

[Map, not printed.]

Sub-Inclosure 2.

Benin City.

Approaching from Ologbo the bush path suddenly debouches into a broad avenue running at right angles to it. This avenue runs through the centre of the town, and ends on the west side in the Gwato Road. It forms a main division of the town, on the southern side the King's and Chiefs' compounds, and to the northward those of the lesser Chiefs and people.

Houses.—The houses are built of red mud, and thatched with palm leaves, the only iron roofs being those of the palaver house and a portion of the King's house.

Compounds.—The King's compound consists of the King's house, palaver house, Ju Ju houses, and compounds, and living houses for the King's people, also old ruined houses, probably the burial places of former notable people. The front of the compound was protected by a mud wall about 20 feet high, with a sloping roof to the front.

Ju Ju Compounds.—On entering the compound the first places met are two large Ju Ju compounds. These are level clearings covered with grass, capable of holding several thousand people, and at the south ends, under pent-house coverings, are the altars. The altars are raised mud platforms about 3 feet high, running more or less the whole breadth of the compound, and in the centre are unique bronze heads, each head supporting a carved ivory tusk. On the alters also were rudely-carved maces for killing the victims—whose blood was subsequently smeared over the alter and allowed to run down the steps in front. In the main Ju Ju compound the smell of human blood was indescribably sickening, the whole grass portion of the compound reeking with it.

Pits.—In the corners of some of these compounds were pits for the reception of the bodies of the victims.

Five large Ju Ju compounds were close together in the King's compound. The immense number of lives sacrificed in them is appalling to think of.

In addition to these large public Ju Ju places, every house appeared to have its Ju Ju room, and many a sacrificial altar on which annual sacrifices were found. In these Ju Ju rooms rubbish of all sorts was collected as offerings; carved sticks, rough plaster figures, and cowries being the most frequent.

Behind the Ju Ju places was the palaver house, and side by side with it the King's house. The palaver house was a large building, about 100 feet long and 50 or 60 broad, with a raised polished mud seat running round the four walls under a pent-house galvanized iron roof, the centre of the yard being open to the air. Running down the roof on the south side was a huge bronze snake with a large head, and in the centre of the court a bronze crocodile's head. The supporting beams for the roof were carved with a sennit pattern and covered with thin brass. The doors also were covered with embossed brass. The colour of the brass, and its bright surface, indicated that it had undergone some form of ormolu preparation.

King's House.—The Kings's house was similar to the palaver house, but with rooms leading off it, and the beams over the King's seat or bed place had square patches of looking-glass let into them for decoration.

The avenue in front of the King's compound opened out into a large cleared open space, and at the edges of this were the two crucifixion trees. The one to the westward was a fair-sized cotton tree, with its top and branches lopped off, and a sloping stage built about half-way up, for the victims to rest on.

The second crucifixion tree was more to the westward, and was arranged for single crucifixions only.

Opposite the King's compound a broad avenue ran, flanked with bush and occasional houses, for about three-quarters of a-mile, when it suddenly contracted to a narrow gully, the bottom of which was barely broad enough to take the sole of a boot. This was the water path. This gully continued for about three-quarters of a-mile, the sides being nearly perpendicular, and between 15 and 30 feet high. After that it broadened out, and the last quarter of a-mile or so was a good road through the bush. The Ikpoba Creek, which supplies the town with water, is only two or three yards wide, with a strong stream and full of snags, but just at the watering place it spreads out into a broad shallow pool, some 20 yards broad.

Passing the King's compound, and going to the westward, a large tract of common land is met. This was simply strewn with bodies in every stage of decomposition, skulls, and bones.

Where the Gwato Road starts was a large compound, belonging to Ojumo, a big Chief. At the opposite end of the town was Ochudi's compound.

Guns.—Several old cannons were found and destroyed, the most modern dating from the early part of the century.

Revolvers, rifles, and some guns were used by the natives.

[Map, not printed.]

Sub-Inclosure 3.

[Map, not printed.]

Sub-Inclosure 4.

The friendly tribes were the Jakris and Ijos, both water people. The Beni, on the other hand, never cross water unless absolutely obliged, it being against their Ju Ju to do so. As a result of this, every waterside Beni town really consists of two towns, a trading village, used by Jakris, and the Beni town, inhabited by Beni. This was the case at Ologbo, where the Jakri village was close to the water, and the Beni village some three-quarters of a-mile inland.

The Ju Ju of Benin extends for a long distance inland, and Benin is looked up to by many tribes for a considerable distance as the centre of their form of religion. Even the Jakris look up to the Benin Ju Ju.

The most likely line of retreat of the King, if he did retire from his country, was by the Kukuruku country and on, perhaps, to small Ado.

Orrokotto country is where Duboar's brother lives. The two are not on good terms.

Ugugu is partly friendly to Benin and partly not. A considerable portion of the country to the north and east of Benin has been wrested from the tribute of that country by Beda, the Mahommedan, although retaining the Benin Ju Ju. Beda, however, has now suffered a reverse at the hands of the Niger Company—and his power over these tribes will probably soon cease.

[Map, not printed.]

Sub-Inclosure 5.

[Map, not printed.]

Sub-Inclosure 6.

The Fighting of the Natives.

The chief point of remark in the fighting of the Beni was their excellence as bush men, personally, though the whole of the advance I was with the leading company, I only twice saw a native, although numbers were within 20 yards of the path. They either climbed trees or lay down behind them, within a few yards from the path, and deliberately picked off individuals, retiring to reload and returning again to the attack.

The usual places chosen for attack were the cleared camps made by the soldiers, or the Ju Ju clearings. The only reason assignable for their preference to attack at a clearing (where their method of warfare was essentially one of hiding in the bush), is that the bush is found to stop their slugs, and therefore they prefer to be near the edge of the clearing and have a fairly open space beyond. From our point of view, such a place was advantageous, as it gave greater scope for the use of a Maxim and an increased front for a volley.

The use of volleys while marching along the bush paths was most marked, as in most cases it considerably hurried the enemy's fire and caused them to fire before they got too close. The use of ammunition for such volleys becomes a serious question where a long march is undertaken and a fight expected at the end, for firing by sections every two minutes means that the leading company expends thirty rounds per man every four hours in precautionary volleys only. If to this be added the volleys fired during attack, the expenditure in four hours can easily rise to sixty rounds a man. I think, however, that the general opinion is that for precautionary volleys, three-file firing outwards is sufficient, and for attack, one volley from each section is sufficient and then advance.

The enemy on no accasion attempted to rush the column, although they at times approached the head of the column shouting, and the attacks on the centre appear to have been by more or less isolated individuals. The leading company seem to sweep them on before them.

The main opposition met with was landing at Ologbo, and from Ologbo to Cross Roads, from Cross Roads to Agagi, and from Awoko to Benin. From Agagi to Awoko the attack was feeble,

As far as Agagi an ambush path had been cut on the right side of the road. This was must useful, as with a company on it, the front was doubled and only one flank had to be looked out for by each company.

After Agagi they had apparently not anticipated our advance so far, and no path was cut.

No determined attack was made on a camp, isolated shooting took place at several, but nothing in the way of concerted action except in the case of the stockade at Sapoba, where our numbers were small and the enemy in force.

Two natives were shot armed with bows and arrows, but on no occasion that I could hear of, had an arrow been known to be fired.

Inclosure 4 in No. 68.

Captain O'Callaghan to Rear-Admiral Rawson.

Sir, *"Philomel," at Benin River, February* 27, 1897.

I HAVE the honour to state that in accordance with your orders I left Warrigi on the 8th instant in company with Her Majesty's ship "Barrosa" and anchored off Gwato Creek that afternoon. On the 9th, having obtained the six canoes ordered, I proceeded up the Gwato Creek in my boats, Her Majesty's ship "Barrosa" preceding us. That day we went as far as the big island which I, for the time, will call "Barrosa" Island. This is about 15 miles from the mouth of the creek. Found the "Barrosa" anchored there.

On the 10th, having reconnoitred Gilli Gilli in the morning, I left the ship in the boats of Her Majesty's ships "Philomel," "Barrosa," and "Widgeon;" about 11·30 A.M. had occupied Gilli Gilli, no opposition; burnt all the huts and cut down banana trees and left the place again at about 3 P.M. Proceeded up the creek to

Gwato landing-place. Having searched the bush with volleys and fired about six rounds from the 3-pr. Q.F. gun in the direction of the town, landed eighty men—forty seamen and forty marines—and marched up the path which ends in a defile to Gwato town. A rough wooden ladder at the end enabled us to get up into the town. On our arrival there the place was apparently deserted. Searched all the bush with volleys, and marched to the further end of the town and commenced marching back. As we were moving back, some Kroomen, who were cutting down banana trees, came in saying that a lot of men with guns were in the bush. Fired more volleys into the bush on each side, and on this occasion our fire was returned from the bush. At the same time we heard the enemy giving a sort of cheer after cheer of our volleys. Considerable bodies of the enemy tried to get round to our rear by our right flank, but exposing themselves to the marines, they suffered considerably, many men being seen to fall and to be dragged away. For about an hour the enemy kept up a pretty hot fire, but then having made no impression on our force, the firing and cheering ceased. I then advanced the men well to the front, set fire to remaining huts, and blew up two large houses with gun-cotton. Having burnt all the houses, and all firing from the natives having ceased, I marched the men back to the boats unmolested. We got to the boats about 6·30 P.M. Our casualties were, three severely and three slightly wounded. I then returned to Her Majesty's ship "Barrosa."

On the 12th I was starting for Eggbini when I received orders from you to reoccupy Gilli Gilli, and when reinforced, Gwato. On the 14th, I reoccupied Gilli Gilli, no opposition, cleared bush by cutting, and made a zareba. On the 15th, Lieutenant Charrington arrived with 7-pr. and rocket tube, also fifty carriers from Chief Du-Du, also C Company from the "St. George."

At daylight on the 16th I embarked the force and proceeded to Gwato, arriving there at about 8 A.M. Commenced at once cutting and clearing bush. After going about 400 yards found an old unused path leading up the left side of the defile. Went up this at once and occupied the town, which was deserted, with the exception of two natives, who ran away into the bush. Commenced at once building a wall round the part of the town near the ladder. Got the rocket and four Maxims into position. About 10 A.M. fire was opened from the bush on our left flank, volleys from the rifles and the Maxims were brought to bear on the spot, also several rockets were fired.

The enemy kept up an annoying fire all day, which necessitated keeping our men exposed a good deal to the sun. In the evening I advanced two companies, and searching the bush started the cutters cutting down the bush in our front and on our flanks. For the next two days the enemy made repeated attacks, but could do no harm, our men being well protected by the wall, and the bush being cut all round prevented them getting so close to us. After the 18th we were not attacked at all; our casualties for the three days were three white men and one carrier wounded, none seriously.

Having been ordered to remain till the 27th I continued morning and evening cutting down the bush all round and all banana trees; a great number of these were cut. The road from the landing-place, which is swampy, was bridged over, and a pier built at the landing-place. At the present time there is a large space cleared at Gwato, making it almost impossible for the natives to attack without showing themselves.

On the 25th, a company of Houssas arrived from Benin city, having marched through without being molested, under command of Captain Gallwey. Having supplied the Houssa force with biscuit, rice, and ammunition, and turned over the fifty carriers from Chief Du-Du, I embarked our force on the morning of the 27th. The health of the force is fairly good. A good many men suffered from the sun on the 16th, and there have been a few cases of fever and derangement of the stomach, but at the present time there are only eleven men on the list.

In conclusion, I wish to bring to your favourable notice the admirable conduct of the force under my command. I wish especially to recommend:—

Commander J. Startin, who has been of the greatest assistance to me. During the attacks he was always in the worst place steadying the men. All the cutting and road-making has been superintended by him; in fact, he has been most indefatigable.

Surgeon Facey, of Her Majesty's ship "Widgeon," who was with the force on the 10th, showed great coolness in attending to and dressing the wounded, being practically under fire the whole time.

Mr. Brown, gunner, was of great assistance on the 10th, and since the occupation of Gwato has worked splendidly; he has been throughout of the greatest assistance to the force.

Lieutenant Newman, R.N.R., has had charge of the Commissariat since the 8th,

and has done very good work. He has taken infinite trouble to try and keep things straight. He has also had charge of the boats at the landing-place with twenty-four men. Lately he has been assisted in the Commissariat department by Mr. Rotchford, of Her Majesty's ship "Widgeon," but at first he was quite alone.

Sergeant Burrill, who had charge of the marines the whole time, behaved with great coolness on the 10th, the marines forming the advanced guard in entering the town, and the rear guard when embarking; and throughout the time the force has been landed, he has carried out all duties assigned to him with ability and judgment.

Lieutenant (N.) Booty fixed the position of the three following places:—

Gilli Gilli: latitude 6° 9′ 15″ north, longitude 5° 18′ 3″ east; Gwato: latitude 6° 10′ 18″ north, longitude 5° 18′ 14″ east; Eggbini: latitude 6° 13′ 10″ north, longitude 5° 16′ 14″ east.

The longitude will depend on the rates of the chronometers being correct.

Lieutenant Booty fixed the position of Gwato whilst one of the attacks was going on.

Lieutenant Hill, of Her Majesty's ship "Barrosa," has been most energetic. All the patrolling of the creeks has been done by him, and he has sounded and taken bearings as he has gone along. I omitted to say in the first part of this despatch that the creeks have been patrolled four days, the natives at Eggbini being very friendly; no signs of Benin men crossing the creek.

Mr. Dawson, engineer of Her Majesty's ship "Philomel," has had charge of the steam-boats, and has kept them always ready, besides condensing about 24 gallons an hour, which has kept the force with good drinking water.

All the officers of the companies did their work well.

I have, &c.

(Signed) M. P. O'CALLAGHAN.

Inclosure 5 in No. 68.

Captain MacGill to Rear-Admiral Rawson.

Sir, "*Phœbe*," *at Warrigi, February* 25, 1897.

I HAVE the honour to report that in accordance with your instructions I proceeded in Her Majesty's ship "Alecto," with fifty men from "Phœbe," to form a stockade at some point above Sapoba, where cross roads from Benin meet.

The "Magpie" not having arrived with her contingent, I took thirty more men from "Phœbe" than I had intended.

2. Leaving Sapele at daylight on the 9th February (Tuesday), I proceeded as far in the "Alecto" as possible, and then went on in the boats; the last boats reached Sapoba at 4 the same evening.

I camped for the night on the mainland, so as to make an early start in the morning.

3. At daylight on the 10th I proceeded, and endeavoured to reach a village called Mboqua, distant two hours, which is on the main road between Benin city and Ugugu. After marching for five hours, and not coming to the village, I decided to return to a point 4½ miles from Sapoba, where there was water, and where a road branched off to Boko. The force reached this place at about 4 P.M. much exhausted. A protection was thrown up for the night.

4. At daylight on the 11th, leaving twenty men in the stockade, with two Maxims and rifles, Lieutenant-Commander Pritchard in charge, I proceeded with the remainder of the men, and all carriers, to Sapoba; half this force was to return to the stockade with stores, the remainder to return to "Phœbe." Just as I was leaving Sapoba, a messenger arrived to say that the stockade had been attacked, and Lieutenant-Commander Pritchard and one man were killed. As soon as possible, I hurried back with the whole force the 4½ miles to stockade, reaching there at 12·30 P.M.

I found that at about 8 A.M. a force of about fifty men had attacked with the above result; there was thick forest and bush all round, and when the first rush was made the force were cutting wood to strengthen the stockade.

5. After due consideration, I decided to return to Sapoba, and on the arrival of "Magpie" to reoccupy stockade, as I wished to hold Sapoba, the stockade, and have sufficient men to guard carriers passing up and down.

6. I would here draw special attention to the services of Surgeon R. T. A. Levinge, and Richard J. Tiddy, Petty Officer, 1st Class, both of "Alecto." On Lieutenant-Commander Pritchard being shot, Dr. Levinge took command, and behaved admirably.

Tiddy was wounded severely in the arm, but continued at his post at a Maxim throughout the whole affair.

7. On the 16th, leaving a sufficient force at Sapoba, I proceeded to stockade, and built a strong one, with redoubts at each corner.

8. On the 20th it was attacked, but the enemy did not come close; they probably saw that we had an impregnable position. The same day the column, which I found it necessary to send nearly each day from Sapoba to stockade and back with sick, was attacked by a few men in the bush, and one marine of "Phœbe" was killed, and two slightly wounded; Lieutenant-Commander Elliott was in charge of this column.

9. On Sunday the 21st four explosions were heard in direction of Benin city, and from that time we saw nothing more of the enemy.

10. On the 24th I received orders to evacuate stockade, and return to Warrigi with the whole force. The stockade was completely burned before leaving.

11. I am much indebted to Lieutenant F. R. Kennedy, of "Phœbe," for much arduous service.

I have, &c.
(Signed) T. MacGILL.

Inclosure 6 in No. 68.

Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton to Rear-Admiral Rawson, February 21, 1897.

[See Inclosure 3 in No. 65.]

Inclosure 7 in No. 68.

Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton to Rear-Admiral Rawson.

Sir, *Benin City, February* 22, 1897.

WITH reference to my report on the operations, 12th to 18th instant, I should like you to know that although I did not mention the names of Captain Walker, Scottish Rifles, and Lieutenant O'Shee, R.E., Special Service officers, as they were in command of half-companies of the men, and there was no special reason for distinguishing them from other officers of the force, still I have formed a high opinion of both these officers. I would select them to work with me in service on any future occasion, and that I consider their advancement would be an advantage to the army. I trust you will not overlook this in your report.

I have, &c.
(Signed) B. HAMILTON.

Inclosure 8 in No. 68.

Consul-General Moor to Rear-Admiral Rawson, February 20, 1897.

[See Inclosure 1 in No. 65.]

Sub-Inclosure.

Rear-Admiral Rawson to Consul-General Moor, February 25, 1897.

[See Inclosure 3 in No. 74.]

Inclosure 9 in No. 68.

Lieutenant Michell to Rear-Admiral Rawson.

Sir, *"St. George," off Forcados River, February* 27, 1897.

I HAVE the honour to report that in accordance with orders received by Captain Foote, R.N., commanding the Base Camp at Ologbo Beach, I started on 19th February

at 6 P.M. in command of a boat expedition for the purpose of reaching Benin by the Ologi Creek.

2. The expedition consisted of the "St. George's" steam pinnace fully armed, two Jakri canoes witn nine seamen in each, and a demolition party of four men in charge of Mr. Coleman, boatswain of Her Majesty's ship "Forte," making a total of thirty-nine whites and nineteen natives.

3. I started with four days' provisions, extra coal, and a large supply of gun-cotton.

4. Up to the evening of the 20th, my progress was fairly rapid, notwithstanding frequent necessity for gun-cotton, and I calculated I had traversed 20 miles.

For the next two days, the 21st and 22nd ultimo, my progress was very much slower owing to narrowing of the creek, the swiftness of the current, and innumerable snags and fallen trees across the stream, reducing the run to 18 miles for the two days.

At the end of the third day, I decided to return, finding it impossible to tow the canoes, and considering the steamboat to be in imminent danger of being stove in or capsized; shortness of provisions also compelled me to return.

5. The course of the stream during the 38 miles I traversed is extremely tortuous and winding, turns of 16 points being frequent, and the boat's head pointing to every point of the compass within a few minutes; the resultant direction, however, is about north-east.

6. Although I passed numerous huts on both banks, they were all deserted, and I did not see a native.

The creek is without doubt the limit of Benin territory, as on the left bank I saw a good many canoes, and on the other, not a single one.

7. I arrived back at Ologbo on the 24th at noon, having met the canoe sent to recall me three hours previously.

8. In conclusion, I wish to testify to the cheerful manner in which the officers and men under my command performed their duties under most trying circumstances.

I have, &c.

(Signed) THOS. MICHELL.

No. 69.

Admiralty to Foreign Office.—(*Received April* 8.)

Sir, *Admiralty, April* 7, 1897.

IN reference to Admiralty letter of the 3rd instant, forwarding copies of despatches received from the Commander-in-chief on the Cape of Good Hope and West Coast of Africa Station, dated 27th February last, reporting the successful conduct of the Benin expedition, I am commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to request you will cause their Lordships to be informed whether the Secretary of State will concur in a cordial expression of approval being conveyed to Rear-Admiral Rawson.

I am at the same time to transmit to you herewith, for the information of the Secretary of State, a copy of a letter from Rear-Admiral Rawson, dated 3rd ultimo, relative to the services of Consul-General Moor, C.M.G., during the expedition.

I am, &c.

(Signed) HY. VANSITTART NEALE.

Inclosure in No. 69.

Rear-Admiral Rawson to Admiralty.

Sir, *"St George," at Brass, March* 3, 1897.

WITH reference to my despatch, dated 27th ultimo, reporting the capture of Benin city, I wish to call the attention of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to the exceeding value I attach to the services rendered to the expedition by Mr. R. D. R. Moor, C.M.G., Her Majesty's Commissioner and Consul-General for the Niger Coast Protectorate.

2. His assistance and advice on every occasion have been most valuable, and I

could not but be struck with the extraordinary power and grasp of the situation shown by him.

3. I therefore consider it my duty to request that, should their Lordships see fit, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs may be informed accordingly.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HARRY H. RAWSON.

No. 70.

*Foreign Office to Admiralty.**

Sir, *Foreign Office, April* 13, 1897.

I AM directed by the Marquess of Salisbury to transmit to you a copy of a Report by Mr. R. Moor, C.M.G., Her Majesty's Commissioner and Consul-General for the Niger Coast Protectorate,† on the recent operations which resulted in the capture of Benin city.

I am to request that you will express to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty the high appreciation entertained by the Marquess of Salisbury of the services rendered by the Admiral Commanding-in-chief, the Special Service officers, and the officers and men of the combined forces, and his deep regret at the loss of life from wounds and sickness with which the expedition was attended.

I am, &c.
(Signed) FRANCIS BERTIE.

No. 71.

Foreign Office to Consul-General Moor.

Sir, *Foreign Office, April* 13, 1897.

THE Marquess of Salisbury has read with much interest your despatch of the 24th February, reporting the capture of Benin city by the punitive expedition under the command of Rear-Admiral Rawson, and I am directed by his Lordship to transmit to you a copy of a letter which he has caused to be addressed to the War Department and Admiralty,‡ expressing his high appreciation of the services rendered on the occasion by the officers and men of the combined forces, and his regret at the loss of life which occurred, together with copy of a letter in which he requests that his thanks may be conveyed to the Governors of Sierra Leone and the Gold Coast for their assistance in the matter.§

I am also to convey to you his Lordship's cordial approval of the steps taken by you to insure the success of the expedition.

I am, &c.
(Signed) FRANCIS BERTIE.

No. 72.

Foreign Office to Colonial Office.

Sir, *Foreign Office, April* 13, 1897.

I AM directed by the Marquess of Salisbury to transmit to you copies of the papers, marked in the margin,‖ relating to the capture of Benin city by the recent punitive expedition under Admiral Rawson. In his despatch of the 24th February, Her Majesty's Commissioner and Consul-General for the Niger Coast Protectorate draws attention to the valuable assistance which he received in the preparation of the expedition from the Governors of Sierra Leone and the Gold Coast, and I am to request that the thanks of the Marquess of Salisbury may be conveyed to those gentlemen for the services rendered by them.

I am, &c.
(Signed) FRANCIS BERTIE.

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* Also to War Office. † No. 65. ‡ No. 70. § No. 72.
‖ Nos. 65, 70, and 71.

No. 73.

Foreign Office to Admiralty.

Sir, *Foreign Office, April* 15, 1897.

I HAVE laid before the Marquess of Salisbury your two letters of the 3rd and 7th instant on the subject of the Benin expedition.

His Lordship has read with much interest the despatches inclosed in the former communication, and I am to request that you will express to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty his high appreciation of the excellent service rendered on the occasion in question by the officers and men of the Royal Navy, and that you will state to their Lordships that he cordially concurs in the expression of approval which it is proposed to convey to Rear-Admiral Rawson.

His Lordship has noted with pleasure the testimony borne to the value of the assistance afforded during the course of the operations by Mr. Moor, to whom a copy of Admiral Rawson's letter will be forwarded.

I am, &c.

(Signed) FRANCIS BERTIE.

No. 74.

Consul-General Moor to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(Received April 17.)

(Extract.) *Old Calabar, March* 18, 1897.

IN continuation of my despatch of the 24th ultimo, I have the honour to report that the flying column, dispatched on the 24th February to open the trade route between Benin city and Gwato, about 24 miles, succeeded in carrying out its object without meeting any opposition, and returned on the 1st instant. The detachment of Her Majesty's navy from "Philomel," "Barrosa," and "Widgeon," which had been left at Gwato by Rear-Admiral Rawson at my request, was withdrawn on the 27th ultimo as soon as the flying column had connected up with it. Several Jekri Chiefs, with their followers, came up with the Gwato column on its return, also two European trading agents. The trade route between the city and Ikoru was opened by a column which started on the 4th and returned on the 5th instant, the distance being about 15 or 16 miles. The Jekri Chiefs returned with this column to go from Ikoru by water to their homes to tell the good news of the fall of Benin city, which they had seen with their own eyes.

During the period from the 24th February to the 5th instant negotiations were carried on by messenger with the King and Chiefs to persuade them to come to palaver, this course being not only advisable, as in accordance with native custom, but necessary to allow of the preparation of a permanent Residency, with proper defences, before detaching any considerable portion of the force for purposes of pursuit.

On the 5th instant it became evident that the negotiations were being protracted by the King and Chiefs for the purpose of gaining time to effect some object of their own, and as evidence of the general direction in which they were had been obtained, I determined, in consultation with Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton and other officers, to start in pursuit of them on the following morning, not with the idea of succeeding in capturing them (an almost impossible task in a thick bush country) so much as with the view of frustrating such plans as they were forming and showing them that matters would not be finally settled until they came into palaver.

On morning of the 6th instant we started the flying column under Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton, consisting of sixty men, one Maxim party, and one rocket tube, with party. After crossing a considerable stream about 5 miles out and passing through three villages, the village of Afala was reached, where a camp was formed about 4·30 P.M., the distance from the city being about 15 miles. Several people were met on the road, who were quite friendly, but it appeared they were none of them true Binis. At one of the villages, Orio by name, the Headman and several others were caught and interviewed, the Headman and two others being taken on, much against their will, as guides. They were guaranteed a safe return if they guided correctly, and told they would be shot if they took the party a wrong route or attempted to escape. The Headman on the first opportunity tried to go a wrong route, and then made a rush into the bush to escape. He was shot while escaping, and there was no further trouble about the route this day. The guide from Benin city, a minor Benin Chief prisoner, had before reaching Orio taken the party by wrong

paths twice, which caused loss of much valuable time, besides entailing extra fatigue. On the second occasion he was flogged, having been cautioned on the first. During the evening while at Afala some messengers came in from the Chiefs. They were sent back to tell the Chiefs to meet me at Aynie, a village about 2 miles distant, on the following morning.

On the 7th instant a start was made before daylight, and Aynie reached shortly after dawn. One important Chief was there, but though others were not far distant in the bush they could not be got to come in, and I did not think it advisable to make a prisoner of the one who had remained, hoping that his being left might inspire the others with confidence. I directed this Chief to get the others to meet me on the next or following day, being anxious to push on, as a slave had been caught who a few days before had taken yams to the King in his bush retreat. The Chief, Ochudi by name, did all in his power to delay the party by inducements of meeting in the afternoon or next day, but a stoppage of about an hour was the entire halt. We then pushed on as fast as possible, and at Amofia's village, about 7 miles distant, found traces of large encampments, very lately occupied. Here the path was missed, and it took a couple of hours to pick it up again. On so doing we pushed on through hilly forest bush for 4 or 5 miles, when a large bush town in process of building was come on, surrounded by most extensive encampments, in which from 2,000 to 3,000 people must have been lying, who would appear not to have left more than twelve hours before our arrival. The frameworks of extensive houses for the King and Chiefs were prepared, and the roofing and walling materials ready. Hundreds of neatly constructed leaf huts were the temporary shelters in use. As it was nearly 5 P.M. we determined to camp, and on following morning to send on scouts to ascertain the utility, if possible, of further pursuit, while the remainder of the party destroyed the embryo town.

On morning of the 8th the structures and prepared materials were effectually destroyed by burning, and on return of the scouts I did not consider it advisable to continue the pursuit. We had already proceeded about 28 miles in a northerly direction, and the King and his people appeared to be going in an easterly and southerly direction or to be rather doubling back, and even if we succeeded in overtaking them it is most improbable that any would have been captured, for they would scatter in the thick bush; further, the object of the pursuit had to a great extent been accomplished in the upsetting of the plans of the King and Chiefs, and showing them that to make peace they must come in to palaver. I am inclined to think that the destruction of this bush town will have as much effect as the taking of Benin city, for the Binis little thought that they could be tracked into the fastnesses of their bush, and I anticipate that it will eventually result in the King and Chiefs coming in. On the evening of the 8th the return journey commenced, and Amofia's town was the camp.

On the 9th instant Amofia town was destroyed by burning, as it is the direct property of the King, and it was not advisable to leave him a ready-prepared shelter at that distance, and we marched into Aynie. Here we camped until the 11th instant, but no Chiefs came in though messages were exchanged. An early start was made, and Benin city reached that night.

During the entire journey no opposition was experienced, and not a shot fired by the enemy; the same having been the case in the opening of the Gwato and Ikoru routes, so, being fairly satisfied that there is no fight left in the Binis, I hurried forward preparations for the establishment of the permanent post and the withdrawal of all necessary troops and carriers.

The following is, for the present, the permanent staff I propose for the post:—

Political Resident: Mr. A. H. Turner, Travelling District Commissioner.

Medical Officer: Dr. F. Ponsonby Hill, District Medical Officer.

Officer Commanding Detachment: Captain E. P. S. Roupell.

Niger Coast Protectorate Force, Officers with Detachment: Captain C. H. N. Ringer; Captain C. H. P. Carter; Lieutenant J. Daniels, Native Officer.

The detachment consists of 120 men, with one 7-pr. mountain gun, one rocket tube, and two Maxims.

After giving most careful written and verbal instructions to the Political Resident and other officers, I left Benin city with the other officers and men on the 15th instant, leaving attached to the station for the present 110 carriers for working at Permanent Residency and general carrying work. The party is established in a good defensible camp, and will shortly be able to move into the Residency, which has been surrounded by a strong and effective stockade. They are supplied with all requisites, provisions,

ammunition, tools, &c., and the extra carriers are now making an extra journey up to complete their supplies for three months.

On the 21st instant I am proceeding to Gwato to withdraw all surplus carriers and stores, and after seeing to the settlement of finance matters in the Benin district, I propose proceeding to Brass and the other stations of the Protectorate, hoping to reach head-quarters by end of month.

Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton and the other three Special Service Officers—Major Landon, Captain Walker, and Lieutenant O'Shee, R.E.—are proceeding home by this mail, their services being no longer required.

I cannot speak too highly of the able and willing manner in which Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton and the other Special Service Officers have worked since Benin city was taken. There has been a hearty desire to do all the work that could be done, and a generous co-operation with the permanent officers of the force, which is deserving of the highest praise. The handling of the force by Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton on all occasions, both in action and on fatigue or other work, has been most successful, and shows that he has been able to gain the good-will of both officers and men, without which little successful work is accomplished, with native troops especially.

Lieutenant O'Shee, R.E., has been most active in preparing the Permanent Residency, and making it a thoroughly defensible position for a small force, and also in preparing a plan of the immediate city.

Major Landon has been equally busy and useful in his Transport Department, and Captain Walker in accompanying the flying columns.

The work of all officers has been done with right good-will, and has been of the best.

I inclose copy of letter, dated the 24th February, addressed by Rear-Admiral Rawson to Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton, bearing testimony to the zealous and able work done by the officers and men of the Niger Coast Protectorate Force, &c., also a copy of letter dated the 25th February, addressed to me by Rear-Admiral Rawson, in reply to my despatch to him of the 20th February, copy of which was inclosed in my No. 17.

A copy of a general Memorandum No. 1268 of the 25th February from Rear-Admiral Rawson is inclosed.

With a view to giving a better general idea of the state of the city than that given in my former despatch, I inclose copy of Dr. Allman's, Principal Medical Officer, Report on the state and the work necessary to be carried out to put it in a possible sanitary condition.

I propose returning to the Benin district and visiting Benin city before the end of April, by which time it will I trust be arranged that the King and Chiefs come into palaver.

Inclosure 1 in No. 74.

Rear-Admiral Rawson to Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton.

Sir, *Warrigi, February* 24, 1897.

ON leaving the Niger Coast Protectorate Force after the joint expedition to Benin city I wish to bear record to the exceedingly zealous and able manner in which the officers and men of that force have carried out their most arduous and trying duties. Hardly seeing an enemy, yet always in the advance guard, and bearing the brunt of the fighting, they have proved themselves a very valuable force; and I request that you will convey to them my cordial thanks and appreciation for the willing manner in which they have throughout carried out my orders, taking as they did extra guards and extra duties to relieve the white force.

To you individually I owe in a large measure the success of the expedition; your valuable advice and assistance, and the very able manner in which you handled the advanced guard, enabled the combined forces to carry a very arduous undertaking to a successful issue, and I shall feel it my duty to bring this fact to the attention of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.

Your letters of proceedings, dated the 21st and 22nd instant, I have noted, and it will give me great pleasure to bring to the notice of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty the names of the officers therein mentioned, who, I hope and trust, may receive substantial recognition from the proper authorities.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HARRY H. RAWSON.

Inclosure 2 in No. 74.

Rear-Admiral Rawson to Consul-General Moor.

Sir, *"Ivy," at Sapele, February* 25, 1897.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 20th instant, and to thank you for the complimentary remarks therein contained in regard to the manner in which the work of the recent Benin expedition has been carried out, and it will afford me great pleasure to convey your remarks to the officers and men concerned.

2. With reference to paragraph 2 of your letter, I have to-day withdrawn the force which has been holding a position near Sapoba; but, in accordance with your desire, the force at Gwato will remain there until the 27th instant, by which date it has been arranged that a company of Hausas will have opened up the road from Benin city to that place.

3. At your request I have left two Maxim guns and one rocket tube, with the necessary ammunition, with the Protectorate Force stationed in Benin city; and the Fleet Paymaster of Her Majesty's ship "St. George" has supplied Mr. Lyon (Assistant District Commissioner at Sapele) with 2,700*l.* in silver for payment of the Jekri carriers.

4. It is my intention to detail Her Majesty's ship "Barrosa" to visit Forcados once a week after my departure from Warrigi, commencing on the 6th proximo, in order to render you assistance should any be required.

5. Thirty miles of telegraph wire, with requisite batteries, &c., will be transferred to you from the transport "Malacca," and landed at Brass, for the purpose of connecting Benin city with Gwato, in accordance with your request.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HARRY H. RAWSON.

Inclosure 3 in No. 74.

General Memo. *"Ivy," at Sapele, February* 25, 1897.

THE Benin expedition, under my command, having been brought to a successful issue, I wish to express to all the officers and men of the joint forces of the Navy and Marines, and the Niger Coast Protectorate, who took part in it, my high appreciation of their zeal and energy throughout the operations.

Those who were called upon to engage the enemy displayed a gallantry and endurance beyond all praise. Whilst to the remainder of the force, who had to be employed on other duties equally necessary to the expedition, my thanks are specially due for the excellent work they have done under most trying circumstances.

The loss of some of our comrades is a matter of deep regret and sadness to us all, but the recollection that they laid down their lives in nobly and gallantly doing their duty cannot but make us feel proud of having been privileged to call them comrades.

Her Majesty's Commissioner and Consul-General has also tendered his most cordial thanks to the officers and men engaged in the expedition for the assistance rendered, and he adds that, from personal observation, the work has, in his opinion, been undertaken by all concerned with the greatest enthusiasm, and carried out with a disregard of personal danger, hardship and privation, which is deserving of the highest praise.

(Signed) HARRY H. RAWSON,
Rear-Admiral.

To the officers and men and others who took part
in the Benin expedition, 1897.

Inclosure 4 in No. 74.

Mr. Allman to Consul-General Moor.

Sir, *Benin City, March* 13, 1897.

I HAVE the honour to submit a brief Report on the sanitary condition of Benin city on the day of its capture, the 18th February, 1897.

On the principal "sacrifice-tree," facing the main gate of the King's compound, there were two sacrifices (crucifixions), and lying around the foot of the tree there were seventeen newly-decapitated bodies and forty-three decapitated bodies in various stages of decomposition.

On the "sacrifice-tree" to the west of the main entrance a woman was crucified, and at the foot of the tree four decapitated and eviscerated bodies were found. On going westwards, towards the plain leading to the Gwato road, a sickening sight was met with. One hundred and seventy-six human sacrifices and decomposing bodies were found, the stench from which was so intolerable that the sanitary gang under my supervision had on more than one occasion to beat a hasty retreat.

In the portion of the city to the south of the plain I came across five sacrifices (decapitations with terrible mutilations), and in the compounds in rear of the King's Palace six more were found.

On the main road, leading eastward from the principal gate, eleven newly-decapitated bodies were found.

A little further on, and close to the entrance of the path from Ologbo, seven bodies were found, killed by gunshot wounds. These evidently fell in the action of the 18th February.

All the above mentioned were decently buried, besides upwards of 300 skeletons.

In various parts of the city, but principally in the immediate vicinity of the King's compound, huge "pits" were found (12 to 15 feet in diameter and 40 to 50 feet deep), seven of which contained human sacrifices, from fifteen to twenty in each pit, the dead and the dying intermingled in these foulsome holes.

Several unfortunate captives were rescued with great difficulty, and are now progressing favourably, with the exception of one poor creature, who, I am afraid, will remain an imbecile for the rest of his life. After all the living had been rescued the pits were filled in with earth.

The day after our arrival here nearly all the European officers, and a great number of the native troops and carriers, suffered acutely from a form of epidemic diarrhœa, caused by inhaling the putrid atmosphere, which, I am pleased to say, has entirely passed away, and the general health is now extremely good.

The sanitary condition of the city is, at present, all that could be desired under the circumstances.

I have, &c.
(Signed) R. ALLMAN, *P.M.O.*

No. 75.

Consul-General Moor to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(Received May 4.)

My Lord, *Old Calabar, March* 26, 1897.

IN continuation of my despatch of the 18th instant, I have the honour to report that already eighteen of the principal Benin city Chiefs have come in and made their submission to Her Majesty's Government, and are returning with their people to settle in the city; also twelve of the Ju Ju Chiefs of the King have been in and ostensibly submitted, but I attach no importance to their act so long as the King remains away.

They were in all probability sent in by the king to see how the land lay, and I am in hopes that, before long, the King himself will come in, especially as his slaves and people are daily deserting from him.

I am now leaving the western division, having arranged all matters requiring immediate attention and seen that everything is in working order, and do not propose returning until the end of April or beginning of May. In the meantime I have left careful instructions with the Resident at Benin city and the officers of the division. The King will, I anticipate, be induced to come in, and when I find the country fairly settled down and confidence established, I shall hold a Court under Native Custom

Law to inquire into the circumstances of the massacre and to bring the guilty persons to justice. It is, in my view, imperative that, though the Bini people have suffered greatly and lost much during the late operations, the instigators and actual perpetrators of the massacre should be brought to justice to demonstrate to the people and the surrounding tribes that Kings and Chiefs cannot perpetrate such outrages with personal impunity. Up to the present, I do not suppose that any one of the Chiefs responsible for the massacre has suffered, except in loss of property, and they no doubt still aspire to remain in their positions as Chiefs and Rulers of the people. As soon as possible, a Native Council under Government supervision will be established for dealing with the affairs of the country.

I have, &c.
(Signed) R. MOOR.

No. 76.

Admiralty to Foreign Office.—(*Received May* 4.)

Sir, *Admiralty, May* 3, 1897.

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to request you will inform the Secretary of State that Rear-Admiral Rawson, C.B., in his despatch of the 27th February last relative to the recent Benin expedition, has, from his personal observation, specially mentioned the following officers in the terms given against each:—

"Lieutenant-Colonel B. M. Hamilton has during the expedition rendered me every assistance, not only by his advice, which has always been sound, but in command of the advance guard he has had to carry out most of the fighting. His arrangements were judicious, and the slight loss we sustained I consider due to his knowledge of bush fighting. He has shown great tact and judgment in his treatment of the Niger Coast Protectorate forces.

"From Captain H. L. Gallwey, D.S.O., I received great assistance before Mr. Moor's arrival, and who was able to give me most valuable information.

"Captain W. Burrows, with Captain Cockburn, ascertained the nature of the country between Ceri and Ologbo Beach on both sides of the creek.

"Mr. A. H. Turner was with Lieutenant Erskine, R.N., in the scouts.

"To Captain Child, of the Niger Coast Protectorate yacht 'Ivy,' my thanks are specially due for the valuable assistance he rendered in personally steering the Protectorate launch used in the transport of the force from Ceri to Ologbo Beach, and whose work was continuous throughout two days.

"Dr. R. d'Arcy Irvine volunteered for, and was attached to, the Sapoba force. He was also most assiduous in his attention to our sick at Warrigi when there was no naval medical officer present.

"Major A. G. Leonard was attached to the carrier column.

"The organization and shipment of the carriers was carried out most ably by Captain Thring, the Naval Agent at Sierra Leone, and I trust their Lordships will convey to the War Office my high appreciation of his services on this occasion.

"Finally, I wish to record my very high opinion of the decision of character of Mr. R. D. R. Moor, C.M.G., Her Majesty's Commissioner and Consul-General for the Niger Coast Protectorate. His great knowledge of the country enabled him to give me very sound advice, and I am indebted to him in very many ways for his very able assistance, which tended so greatly to the success of the expedition."

Rear-Admiral Rawson, in forwarding his despatch, inclosed a Report from Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton on the work done by the Niger Coast Protectorate force, and the Special Service officers who went out with him. The Rear-Admiral mentioned that he entirely indorsed Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton's recommendations, and trusted that the War Office might be pleased to recognize the services of the officers mentioned.

Their names are as stated below, and Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton speaks of them in the terms mentioned against each:—

"Major Landon, A.S.C., has been second in command, and acted as Commissariat and Transport Officer to the force. Without his help their efficiency would have been greatly impaired, and I hope this may be represented in the proper quarter.

"Major Searle, Niger Coast Protectorate Force, who commanded the guns most efficiently, and had two bullets through his helmet on the 18th February.

"Captain Carter, Niger Coast Protectorate Force, Adjutant to the force, gave me valuable help, and also commanded a company after Captain Koe was wounded. He was always at the head of his men, and showed great coolness under fire.

"Lieutenant Daniel, Niger Coast Protectorate Force, a native officer, was invaluable. Whenever the troops were engaged he behaved with great dash, and is well deserving of reward.

I am, &c.
(Signed) EVAN MACGREGOR.

No. 77.

Admiralty to Admiral Rawson.—(Communicated by Admiralty, May 6.)

Sir, *Admiralty, May 5, 1897.*

MY Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty having had before them your despatch, dated the 27th February last, with inclosures, reporting the recent operations undertaken against the King of Benin, resulting in the capture of Benin city on the 18th idem, desire me to inform you that the measures adopted by you appear to have been admirably adapted for the attainment of the objects of the expedition, and meet with their Lordships entire approval.

2. My Lords fully recognize the exceptional difficulties with which you, and the force under your command, had to contend, and they desire me to convey to you, and to all concerned, their appreciation of the readiness and resource with which they were overcome, and the expedition brought to a successful issue.

3. I am further to express to you the high appreciation their Lordships entertain of the gallantry and devotion to duty displayed by the officers, seamen, and marines and auxiliary forces engaged in these operations, and to inform you that the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs has expressed his full concurrence in the view taken by their Lordships of your proceedings.

4. It is with deep regret that my Lords have received your report of casualties which occurred during the expedition, and they have caused an expression of sympathy to be conveyed to the relatives of those officers and men who unhappily perished by battle or climate.

5. I am to add that your despatches will be gazetted, and that the names of the officers and men specially mentioned have been favourably noted.

6. My Lords have had much satisfaction in communicating your report on the distinguished services of Lieut.-Colonel Bruce-Hamilton to the Secretary of State for War.

7. Colonel Hamilton's Report on the services of the Niger Coast Protectorate force, and of the special service officers who accompanied him from England, has also been communicated to the Secretary of State for War, as well as to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

8. My Lords have also had much satisfaction in communicating your testimony to the services rendered to the expedition by Mr. Moor, Her Majesty's Commissioner and Consul-General for the Niger Coast Protectorate.

9. I am further to state that it has given my Lords much pleasure to communicate to the Secretary of State for the Colonies your recognition of the services of Colonel F. Cardew, C.M.G., the Governor and Commander-in-chief of Sierra Leone, in arranging for the collection of carriers for the expedition.

I am, &c.
(Signed) EVAN MACGREGOR.

No. 78.

Foreign Office to Consul-General Moor.

Sir, *Foreign Office, May 12, 1897.*

THE Marquess of Salisbury has received your despatch of the 26th March last, and I am directed by his Lordship to state that he approves the steps which you propose to take for the settlement of the Benin country.

I am, &c.
(Signed) FRANCIS BERTIE.

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